




3 1761 06566391 6



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2010 with funding from
University of Toronto



22860

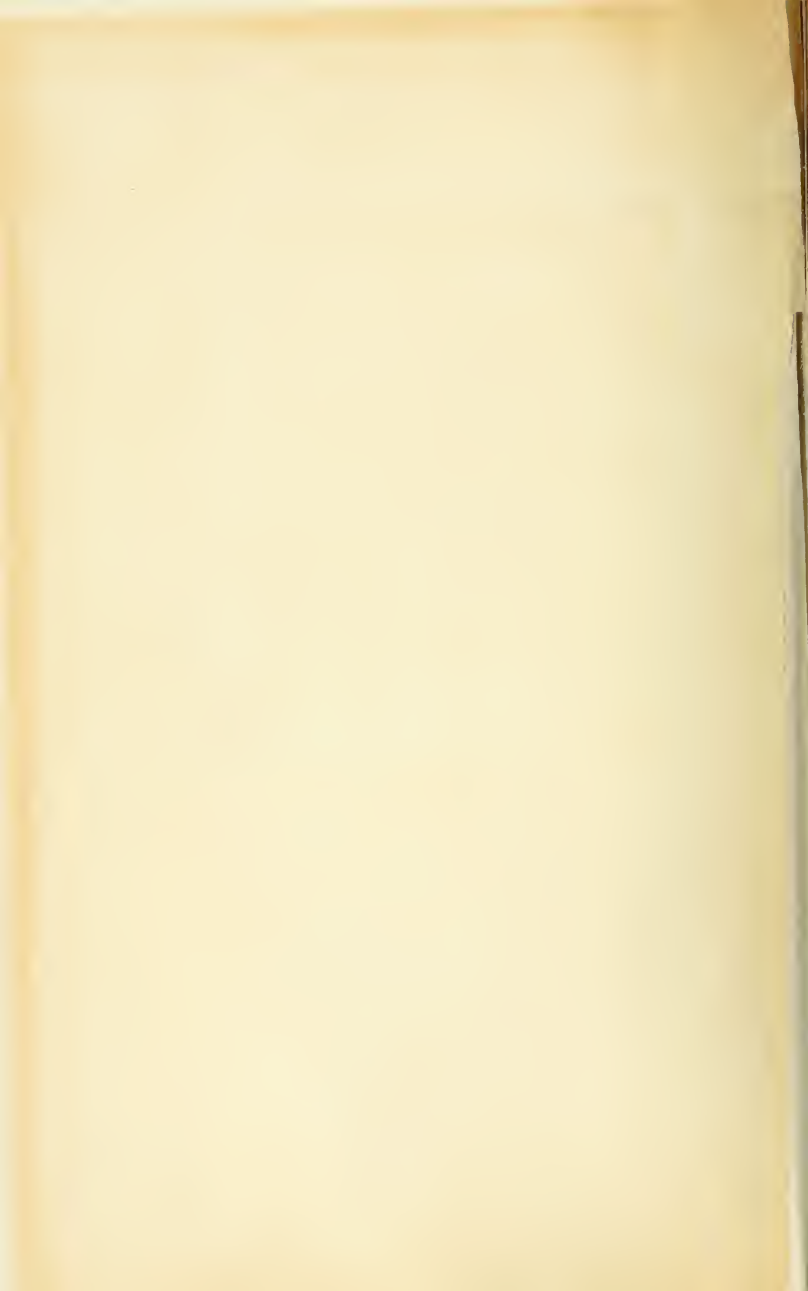
11

The
Monroe Doctrine ^{U.S.}
and
The Venezuelan
Boundary Dis-
=cussion. 1895-96.
with
Illustrations









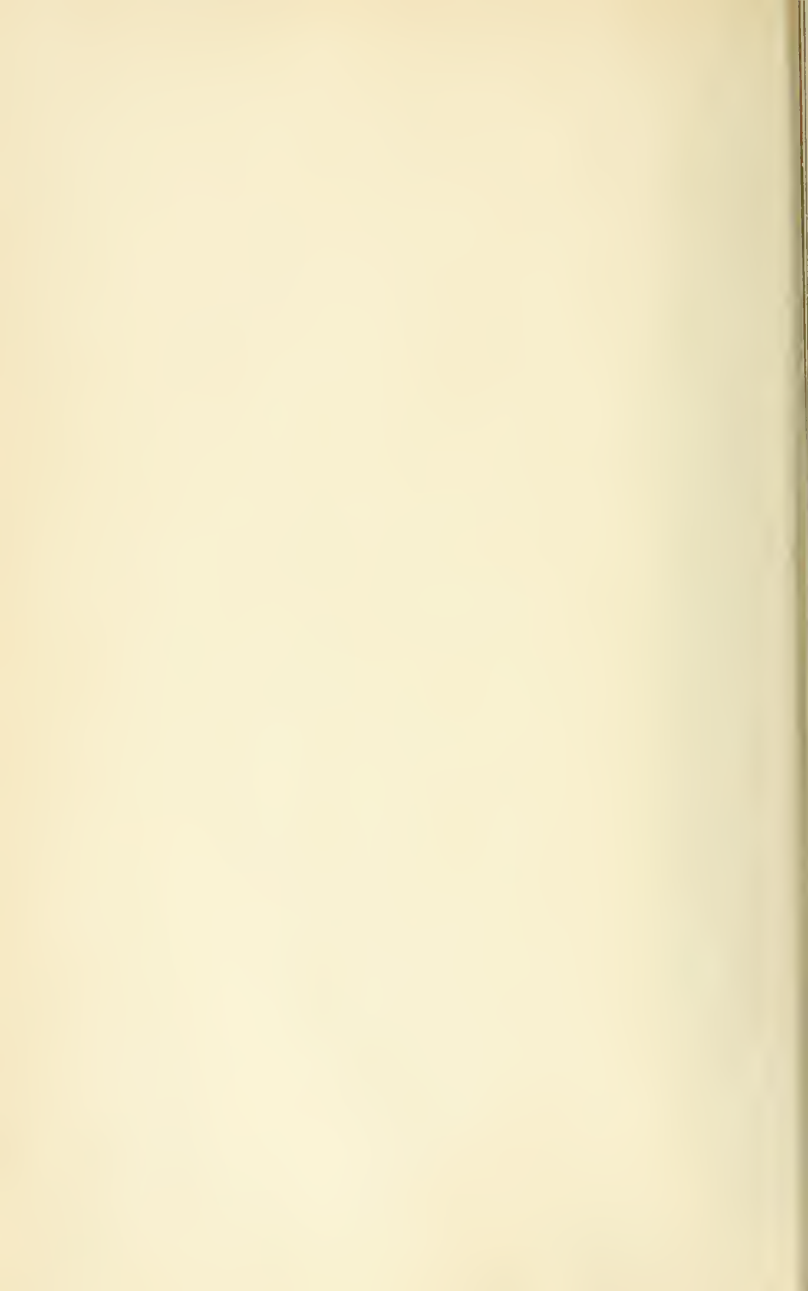
ED OF READJUST



















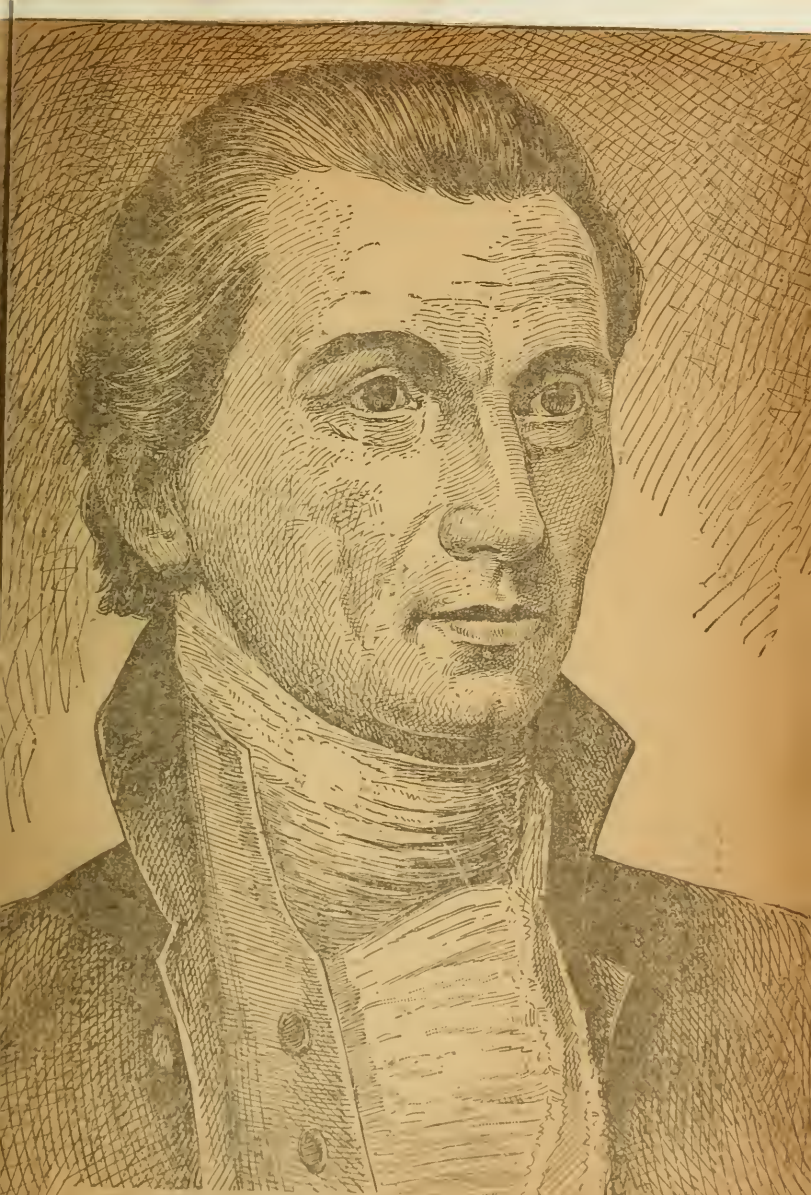












JAMES MONROE, FIFTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.



MONROE DOCTRINE.

ITS SCOPE AND ORIGIN DESCRIBED BY AN AMERICAN WRITER.

Monroe's Celebrated Message — Europe
Must Not Meddle in Cisatlantic Affairs—
The Panama Mission—Later Views and
Illustrations.

A phrase that is much on the lips of men in these days, and is glibly used in all the newspapers, is "The Monroe Doctrine." One would think there was something cabalistic about it, so misty, and even mysterious, is the way in which the phrase is used. It is popularly supposed to relate in a peculiar way to the South American States, and to denote a guardianship that in some way has devolved upon the United States with respect to that portion of the western continent.

"What is this blessed Monroe doctrine?" cries out the Westminster Gazette last week, with a sneer. The question from that source was a jibe, but, nevertheless, there is room for information all around. There are even Americans, humiliating as the confession must be, who do not understand, or who wilfully miscomprehend it. I propose to impartially relate its history.

In 1822, and prior to that time, both Russia and Great Britain claimed that the north-western coast of America, that which is now known as British Columbia and our own States of Washington and Oregon, was still open to colonization and settlement by European powers.

John Quincy Adams was Secretary of State under Monroe, and in his diary, under date of July 17, 1823, he notes an interview between himself and Baron Tuihl, the Russian Minister. "I told him specially that we should contest the right of Russia to any territorial establishment on this continent, and that we should assume distinctly the principle that the American continents are no longer subjects for any new European colonial establishments."

In that sentence lies the germ of one branch of the Monroe doctrine. This nation would not recognize the right of European nations to plant colonies and establish authority over any portion of the western hemisphere, as they had done in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Shortly after this the Russian Emperor, Alexander I., substantially acknowledged our contention by making no more pretension to press his possessions southward from what was then known as Russian America, and is now known as Alaska.

In the Southern hemisphere the case was different. In Mexico and throughout South America the Spanish colonies had revolted and established Republican Governments. The United States had acknowledged their independence, but Spain was still making an effort to reconquer them. In 1822 she hoped by the aid of the holy alliance, a federation composed of France, Prussia, Austria, and Russia, to win back her colonies, and made every effort to gain the alliance to her cause. Nor were the allies unwilling. At this juncture George Canning, the British Foreign Secretary—who never loved the United States—suggested to Mr. Rush, the American Minister at London, that Great Britain would co-operate with the United States in resisting the re-subjugation of the Spanish-American colonies. Nothing came of this, but it has given rise to the opinion that Canning was really the "inventor, promoter, and champion" of the Monroe doctrine. Charles Sumner in his "Prophetic Voices of America" so declares.

The situation when President Monroe sent his message to Congress in December, 1823, was this:—Spain was seeking to enlist the aid of the European powers to recover her lost possessions in South America, and Russia was claiming the right to extend her colonization schemes southward on the Pacific coast from the region on the north.

In respect to Spain and the allied powers, Monroe said, after stating the general situation and the difference of their political systems:—"We owe it, therefore, to candour and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."

This doctrine, so stated, has received the indorsement of every American statesman from that day to the present time. We do not propose to suffer any European Government to overturn



the Government of any South American State, or to establish a new Government on its ruins. Daniel Webster, speaking on the subject a few years later, said:—"Sir, I look on the message of December, 1823, as forming a bright page in our history. I will help neither to erase it, nor tear it out; nor shall it be by any act of mine blurred or blotted. It did honour to the sagacity of the Government, and I will not diminish that honour. It elevated the hopes and gratified the patriotism of the people. Over those hopes I will not bring a mildew, nor will I put that gratified patriotism to shame."

This phase of the Monroe doctrine has never been questioned by any American writer on international law, or any American statesman. Jefferson, with whom Monroe had consulted warmly, approved of it. In writing to Monroe he said:—"Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second never to suffer Europe to meddle in cisatlantic affairs. America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe, and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have a system of her own, separate and apart from those of Europe. While the last is labouring to become the domicile of despotism, our endeavour should surely be to make our hemisphere that of freedom."

While Congress has never given formal indorsement to this doctrine, there is no doubt but that it is now considered a settled part of the policy of this country. An illustration of it occurred in 1861. In that year Napoleon III. landed a French army in Mexico, ostensibly to protect French interests, overthrew the Mexican army and Government, submitted the question of the establishment of an empire to the Mexican people, which, under the influence of French bayonets, was carried, and Maximilian was placed on the throne. We were in the midst of the civil war, but Secretary Seward notified the French Government that such a proceeding must lead to war between France and the United States. The French Minister intimated somewhat truculently that if war must be the result his Government would naturally select their own time to commence hostilities, which would be the present, while the United States was burdened with domestic difficulties. Under the circumstances our Government was bound to temporize, but just as soon as our war was over a portion of our army was moved to the Texan frontier, the French army was withdrawn, and Maximilian fell. Such was a correct application of the

Monroe doctrine, as it has been understood and received by all American statesmen. The mere announcement of this doctrine by Monroe foiled the holy alliance, and stopped all action looking toward European intervention in South America, and the result was the establishment of independence by the South American States and their recognition by the whole world.

In the same message of December, 1823, was embodied the statement which had been made by Secretary Adams to the Russian Minister, in respect to the territory on the north-west coast of America. It read as follows:—"The occasion has been judged proper for asserting as a principle, in which the rights and principles of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power."

This declaration, as we have seen, was first made by John Quincy Adams to Baron Tuyl. The Emperor of Russia had made claim to all the territory on the north-west coast of America as far south as latitude 51. Great Britain claimed a portion of the same territory, and in an indefinite way the United States had considered our northern boundary line to extend to latitude 54 degrees 40 minutes. It will be remembered how in 1845 we receded from this extravagant pretension and accepted the parallel of 49 degrees as our northern boundary, showing that we did recognize the right of other Governments to acquire territory on this continent, and even some that we supposed ourselves entitled to.

How then did Adams and Monroe understand this broad statement in the message, and how has it been understood by our leading American statesmen since its announcement? John Quincy Adams succeeded Monroe in the Presidency, and Henry Clay became his Secretary of State. In a special message to Congress on Dec. 26, 1825, Mr. Adams announced that the Spanish-American republics had resolved upon a Congress, to meet on the Isthmus of Panama, in which they should all be represented; that they had invited the United States to send plenipotentiaries; and that the invitation had been accepted. In the course of his message, President Adams quoted from Monroe's message of 1823 the policy that had been then declared, and explained it. In speaking of the objects of the Panama Conference, he said:—"An agreement between the parties represented at the meeting, that each will guard, by its own means, against the establishment of



any future European colony within its borders, may be found advisable. This was more than two years since announced by my predecessor to the world as a principle resulting from the emancipation of both American continents."

Such was the "doctrine" as construed by the statesman that first declared it. Each nation was to "guard by its own means against the establishment of any future European colony within its borders." President Adams never dreamed that the United States assumed the guardianship over the other American States. We proposed to guard against any colonization of our territory, and it was hoped that the South American States would do the same. President Adams' advocacy of the Panama Congress rested on that ground, and that it would result in the adoption of such a policy by all the American States. In the debate that followed as to the expediency of sending representatives to Panama, the whole subject of the relation of the United States to the South American States was discussed, both in the Senate and the House. But not even the strongest advocates of the mission hinted at the idea that the United States would under any circumstances exercise guardianship over the Central and South American republics, or in any way protect them.

Although in the outcome representatives to Panama were appointed by our Government, the conference itself proved to be a failure. But what the whole historical passage is notable for is the exposition of the "Monroe doctrine" by John Quincy Adams, its undoubted author, to the effect that European exclusion from the western hemisphere was to be the work, not of the United States solely, as champion of the two Americas, but of each American Republic primarily, as policy might dictate.

It has already been intimated that when the question arose between this country and Great Britain as to the very territory concerning which the original utterance had been made, the United States receded from its contention, and, instead of insisting on "54.40 or fight," which had been a campaign cry in the Presidential election of 1844, accepted the parallel of 49 for the Oregon boundary, thus giving up the whole of what is now British Columbia.

In 1848 a revolution occurred in Yucatan, and the White Government of that country offered to cede its dominion to Great Britain, Spain, or the United States. President Polk made this offer the subject of a message to Congress, in which he urged that such measures should be passed as would prevent it from becoming a


colony of any European power, which, he said, would be in contravention of the Monroe doctrine. But John C. Calhoun, who had been a member of Monroe's Cabinet at the time the doctrine was announced, and had taken part in the Cabinet discussions of the subject, rose in his place in the Senate and opposed any action on the part of the United States. In the course of his argument he proved that the Yucatan case did not come within the terms of any part of Monroe's message, and that under the circumstances Yucatan might be acquired by any European power. President Woolsey, in his able work on international law, indorses Calhoun's position on this subject, and says "to lay down the principle that the acquisition of territory on this continent by any European power cannot be allowed by the United States would go far beyond any measures dictated by the system of the balance of power, for the rule of self-preservation is not applicable in our case."

Senator Cass, who certainly was never accused of any lack of strong American feeling, in a speech delivered in the Senate in January, 1856, said, referring to the Monroe doctrine:—"To colonization by purchase, treaty, or lawful conquest, the Monroe declaration was not intended to apply, however it may have come to be considered in these latter days. . . . To suppose that this declaration was intended as a promise, pledge, or engagement that the United States would guard from European encroachment the territory of the whole boundless continent is greatly to misconceive the purpose of its promulgator, and to misconstrue the explicit interpretation published to the world by its author, Mr. Adams. Yet, had this interpretation been couched in the most ambiguous terms it could hardly have been more misunderstood than it would seem to be at the present day."

Congress has never adopted any resolution on the subject of the Monroe doctrine in either of its phases, though it has twice refused to adopt resolutions that tended to give it support. The more recent constructions given it by newspaper writers mainly, but not by statesmen, have no foundation in history. They are in effect new enunciations of policy, which may or may not be adopted by Congress or by the Executive. But they are not Monroe's doctrine. Of course, no European Government has ever recognized the doctrine in any of its aspects. As Lord Clarendon politely said to Buchanan, when the latter was Minister at the Court of St James:—"The Monroe doctrine is merely the dictum of its distinguished author," John N. Crawford, in the Chicago Times-Herald.



4



The Bail
Dec. 18. 1895.

HANDS OFF BRISH GUIANA!

For a diplomat, Lord Salisbury expresses his meaning with remarkable clearness. His answer to Secretary Olney's note, advising the British Government that it is the will of the United States that the Venezuelan boundary dispute should be referred to arbitration, is a plain, unqualified, and decided refusal to act upon that advice. It is an equally plain intimation to the United States to mind its own business. There is no shifting, no winding about with circumstance, no lameness, in the terms of his despatch. It is exactly what the occasion called for. It is a reply to a note which, according to Mr. Cleveland's message at the opening of Congress, was offensive both in tone and substance. In that note the United States Government went almost the length of instructing her Majesty's Government to close up the Venezuela question by a reference to arbitration. In support of the propriety of this interference it advanced the Monroe doctrine—the principle laid down by President Monroe in 1823 that it was the policy of the United States to prevent further encroachments, at that time, of either the power or the political systems of Europe. There were therefore two parts in the note of Secretary Olney—one practically enjoining Great Britain to submit to arbitration, the other putting forward the pretensions of the United States under the Monroe doctrine. In his reply Lord Salisbury confines himself to the latter part. He denies that there is any such authority in international law as the Monroe doctrine. He points out that the so-called doctrine was the stand taken by a United States Government in special circumstances, that the limits of its application were acknowledged by a later Government, and that as a maxim of international law it was never quoted in a previous diplomatic communica-

tion even by the United States. Even, however, if it had any force in the law of nations, it could not possibly be applied to the boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela. Further, if Monroeism were a generally received doctrine, it would impose responsibilities as well as secure rights, and the United States would be answerable to the nations of Europe for misconduct on the part of the Latin American republics. Lord Salisbury therefore, while granting that the British Government "fully concur with" the view which President Monroe apparently entertained, that any disturbance of the existing territorial distribution in that hemisphere by "any fresh acquisitions on the part of" any European State would be a "highly inexpedient change," declines to express any acceptance of the Monroe doctrine. But he does not feel called upon so much to demolish the "doctrine" itself, which, as he says, does not apply, as the developments of it in Secretary Olney's note. These he explodes. One argument of the Secretary's, founded on the supposed principle of Monroeism, is that political union between a European and an American State is unnatural and inexpedient, because America ought not to be vexed or complicated with the peculiar primary interests of Europe. Lord Salisbury, in the name of the Mother Country and the American colonies, denies emphatically that such union is unnatural and inexpedient, and denies also that objections to such unions can be drawn from the Monroe doctrine. The doctrine being of no effect, the United States can have no colour of claim to inquire into the merits of the boundary dispute, be those merits what they may. Possibly indeed Lord Salisbury regards the issue of the dispute as a small matter by comparison with the admission of the large rights claimed by the United States as the protector of the



other American republics. Even if the boundary question were a trifling matter, we may be sure he would not consent to have it arbitrated upon a suggestion coupled with an assertion of the United States' right to interfere. No matter how unimportant the issue in question itself might be, the British Premier would certainly not agree to a mode of settling it that would practically establish the Monroe doctrine as a principle of international law.

The note of the British Premier was sent to Congress yesterday, and with it a message from the President. The message recommends Congress to take the first step to carry the theory of Monroeism into practice. After maintaining that the doctrine holds for good, that it applies to this dispute, and that its principles are fixed in international law, the President declares that "the dispute has reached such a stage that it is now incumbent upon the United States to take measures to determine with sufficient certainty for its justification what is the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana." For this purpose he suggests that a commission be appointed by the United States Executive to make the necessary investigation. In his opinion it will be the duty of the United States to act on the report of such a commission by resisting by every means in its power the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands decided by the commission to belong to Venezuela. Congress will probably deliberate that counsel well before adopting it. It may decide not to rush the doctrine through its experimental stage in this sudden fashion. Great Britain claims the disputed territory, denies any sort of United States jurisdiction over it, and might not choose to allow a commission appointed by the United States Government to carry

out a mission of that Government upon that territory. To declare that the Monroe doctrine is an authority upon this continent is one thing; to exercise jurisdiction under it upon soil that is held to be British is another. Congress may well hesitate to take so serious a step. The commission, however, is a very good device, from Mr. Cleveland's point of view, which is evidently that of the politician who is out after votes. It would probably be long before the commission could report, but in the meantime Mr. Cleveland's firm vindication of the doctrine would be winning votes for his third term election. We may be sure, however, that whoever wins or loses in that election, not a foot of British territory will be transferred to a foreign flag by any ruling or any bluster under the Monroe doctrine.

MONROE DOCTRINE

Mr. Cleveland's Message to the Senate.

THE VENEZUELAN QUESTION.

European Interference Must Be Sternly Prohibited.

APPOINTMENT OF A COMMISSION.

The Lucid Note From Lord Salisbury to Secretary Olney.

Washington, Dec. 17.—The President's message reached the Senate about 12.30. Senator Morgan, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, examined the message of the



President, and then moved to go into executive session. It was understood that the purpose was to discuss the Venezuelan question behind closed doors, and at 12.40 the doors were closed. At 1 o'clock the Senate resumed its legislative session, and the message of the President was laid before the Senate. The executive session, it was explained officially, had been devoted to the consideration of nominations. The Senators showed the keenest interest in the reading of the document. There was hardly a vacant seat on the Republican side of the House, and but few absentees on the Democratic side. As the reading of the message closed there was a hearty handclapping from all quarters of the chamber. Senator Chandler (Rep., N.H.) led in the demonstration. It was indeed an innovation on the usual decorum of the Senate, where the Senators seldom if ever give vent to their feelings by applause. Veterans of the Senate say it was the most spontaneous demonstration in their recollections. The message and accompanying documents were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and then at 1.15 p.m. the Senate adjourned.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

President Cleveland sent the following message to Congress to-day:—

In my annual message addressed to the Congress on the 3rd instant I called attention to the pending boundary controversy between Great Britain and the Republic of Venezuela, and recited the substance of a representation made by this Government to her Britannic Majesty's Government, suggesting reasons why such dispute should be submitted to arbitration for settlement and inquiring whether it would be so submitted. The answer of the British Government, which was then awaited, has since been received, and with the despatch to which it is a reply is hereto appended.

Such reply is embodied in two communications addressed by the British Prime Minister to Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British Ambassador at this capital. It will be seen that one of these communications is devoted exclusively to observations upon the Monroe doctrine, and claims that in the present instance a new and strange extension and development of this doctrine is insisted on by the United States, that the reasons justifying an appeal to the doctrine enunciated by President Monroe are generally inapplicable "to the state of things in which we live at the present day," and especially inapplicable to a controversy involving the boundary line between Great Britain and Venezuela. Without attempting extended argument in reply to these positions, it may not be amiss to suggest that the doctrine upon which we stand is strong and sound, because its enforcement is important to our peace and safety as a nation, and is essential to the integrity of our free institutions and the

tranquil maintenance of our distinctive form of government. It was intended to apply to every stage of our national life, and cannot become obsolete while our republic endures. If the balance of power is justly a cause for jealous anxiety among the Governments of the Old World, and subject for our absolute non-interference, none the less is an observance of the Monroe doctrine of vital concern to our people and their Government. Assuming therefore that we may properly insist upon this doctrine without regard to "the state of things in which we live" or any changed conditions here or elsewhere, it is not apparent why its application may not be invoked in the present controversy.

MONROE DOCTRINE APPLICABLE.

If a European power, by an extension of its boundaries, takes possession of the territory of one of our neighbouring republics against its will and in derogation of its rights, it is difficult to see why, to that extent, such European power does not thereby attempt to extend its system of government to that portion of this continent which is thus taken. This is the precise action which President Monroe declared to be "dangerous to our peace and safety," and it can make no difference whether the European system is extended by an advance of frontier or otherwise.

It is also suggested in the British reply that we should not seek to apply the Monroe doctrine to the pending dispute, because it does not embody any principle of international law which "is founded on the general consent of nations," and that "no statesman, however eminent, and no nation, however powerful, is competent to insert into the code of international law a novel principle which was never recognized before, and which has not since been accepted by the Government of any other country."

Practically, the principle for which we contend has peculiar, if not exclusive, relation to the United States. It may not have been admitted in so many words to the code of international law, but since in international councils every nation is entitled to rights belonging to it, if the enforcement of the Monroe doctrine is something we may justly claim, it has its place in the code of international law as certainly and as securely as if it were specifically mentioned, and when the United States is a suitor before the high tribunal that administers international law, the question to be determined is whether or not we present claims which the justice of that code of law can find to be right and valid.

A BRITISH ADMISSION.

The Monroe doctrine finds its recognition in those principles of international law which are based upon the theory that every nation shall have its rights protected and its just claims enforced. Of course this Government is entirely confident that under the sanction of



7

this doctrine we have clear rights and undoubted claims. Nor is this ignored in the British reply. The Prime Minister, while not admitting that the Monroe doctrine is applicable to the present condition, states:—"In declaring that the United States would resist any such enterprise if it was contemplated, President Monroe adopted a policy which received the entire sympathy of the English Government of that date." He further declares, though the language of President Monroe is directed to the attainment of objects which most Englishmen would agree to be salutary, it is impossible to admit that they have been inscribed by any adequate authority in the code of international law. Again he says:—"They (her Majesty's Government) fully concur with the view which President Monroe apparently entertained, that any disturbance of the existing territorial distribution in that hemisphere by any fresh acquisitions on the part of any European State would be a highly inexpedient change."

ARBITRATION DECLINED.

In the belief that the doctrine for which we contend was clear and definite, that it was founded upon substantial considerations and involved our safety and welfare, that it was fully applicable to our present conditions and to the state of the world's progress, and that it was directly related to the pending controversy, and without any conviction as to the final merits of the dispute, but anxious to learn in a satisfactory and conclusive manner whether Great Britain sought under a claim of boundary to extend her possessions on this continent without right, or whether she merely sought possession of territory fairly included within her lines of ownership, this Government proposed to the Government of Great Britain a resort to arbitration as the proper means of settling the question, to the end that a vexatious boundary dispute between the two contestants might be determined, and our exact standing and relation in respect to the controversy might be made clear. It will be seen from the correspondence herewith submitted that this proposition has been declined by the British Government upon grounds which in the circumstances seem to me to be far from satisfactory. It is deeply disappointing that such an appeal, actuated by the most friendly feeling towards both nations directly concerned, addressed to the sense of justice and to the magnanimity of one of the great powers of the world, and touching its relations to be comparatively weak and small, should have produced no better results. The course to be pursued by this Government in view of the present condition does not appear to admit of serious doubts. Having laboured faithfully for many years to induce Great Britain to submit this dispute to impartial arbitration, and having been now finally apprised of her refusal to do so, nothing remains but to accept the situation, to recognize its plain requirements, and

deal with it accordingly. Great Britain's present proposition has never thus far been regarded as admissible by Venezuela, though any adjustment of the boundary which that country may deem for her advantage, and may enter into of her own free will, cannot of course be objected to by the United States.

PROPOSED COMMISSION.

Assuming, however, that the attitude of Venezuela will remain unchanged, the dispute has reached such a stage as to make it now incumbent upon the United States to take measures to determine with sufficient certainty for its justification what is the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana. The enquiry should, of course, be conducted carefully and judiciously, and due weight should be given to all available evidence, records, and facts in support of the claims of both parties.

In order that such an examination should be prosecuted in a thorough and satisfactory manner, I suggest that Congress make an adequate appropriation for the expenses of a commission to be appointed by the Executive, who shall make the necessary investigation and report upon the matter with the least possible delay. When such report is made and accepted it will, in my opinion, be the duty of the United States to resist by every means in its power as a wilful aggression upon its rights and interests the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory which, after investigation, we have determined of right belonging to Venezuela.

In making these recommendations I am fully alive to the responsibility incurred, and keenly realize all the consequences that may follow. I am, nevertheless, firm in my conviction that while it is a grievous thing to contemplate the two great English-speaking peoples of the world as being otherwise than friendly competitors in the onward march of civilization, and strenuous and worthy rivals in all the arts of peace, there is no calamity which a great nation can invite which equals that which follows a supine submission to wrong and injustice, and the consequent loss of national self-respect and honour, beneath which is shielded and defended a people's safety and greatness.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

Executive Mansion, Dec. 17, 1895.

SECRETARY OLNEY'S NOTE.

Accompanying the President's message is the correspondence on the subject. It starts with Secretary Olney's note reopening negotiations with Great Britain, looking to the arbitration of the boundary dispute. It bears date of July 20 last, and is addressed to Mr. Bayard. The Secretary deems it unnecessary to enter into any detailed account of the controversy, which is of ancient date, and has, since 1814, never ceased to be a subject of contention. The claims of both parties, it must be

4



contended, are of a somewhat indefinite nature. Neither of the parties, he says, is to-day standing for the boundary line predicated upon strict legal rights—Great Britain having formulated no such claims at all, while Venezuela insists upon the Essequibo line only as a liberal concession to their antagonists. The Secretary notices briefly several features of the situation—the continuous growth of the undefined British claims, the fate of the various attempts at arbitration of the controversy, and the part in the matter heretofore taken by the United States. He shows how exploitation of the Schomburg line was followed by Venezuela's protests, and by what may be fairly interpreted as a disavowal of the line by Great Britain, notwithstanding which every change in the British claim since that time has moved the frontier of British Guiana farther and farther to the westward of the line proposed by Lord Aberdeen in 1844. The Secretary traces the various efforts made by Venezuela to arrive at a settlement of the boundary question, and of the United States to secure its submission to arbitration, bringing the history down to the beginning of this year, when the important features of the situation were summarized by him as follows:—

1. The title to territory of indefinite but confessedly very large extent in dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela.

2. The disparity in strength of the parties is such that Venezuela can hope to establish her claim only through peaceful methods.

3. The controversy has existed for half a century, despite Venezuela's effort to establish a boundary.

4. Venezuela has for a quarter of a century striven for arbitration.

5. Great Britain has continuously refused, except upon the renunciation in her favour of a large part of Venezuela's claim.

6. The United States has made it clear to Great Britain and the world, by frequent interposition of good offices, that the controversy is one in which its honour and its interests are involved, and the continuance of which it cannot regard with indifference.

At this point Secretary Olney says:—"The accuracy of the foregoing analysis of the existing status cannot, it is believed, be challenged. It shows that status to be such that those charged with the interests of the United States are now forced to determine exactly what those interests are, and what course of action they require. It compels them to decide to what extent, if any, the United States may and should intervene in a controversy between and primarily concerning only Great Britain and Venezuela, and to decide how far it is bound to see that the integrity of Venezuelan territory is not impaired by the pretensions of its powerful antagonist."

The Secretary says that it is an admitted canon of international law that there are circumstances under which a nation may justly interpose in a controversy between other nations, although the doctrine is ordinarily expressed in terms of the most general character. The Secretary says, however, that we are at this time concerned not so much with the general rule as with a form of it which is peculiarly and distinctively American. And this leads the Secretary to an elaborate historical analysis of the condition leading up to the enunciation of the famous Monroe doctrine, beginning with Washington's famous farewell address, warning Americans against entangling alliances with European powers. He shows how in the twenty years which succeeded this address the situation had greatly changed; that the great increase of power and resources of the new nation had given it a commanding position on this continent; and that Monroe, without hesitating to accept the logic of the farewell address, applied it by declaring in effect that American non-intervention in Europe necessarily implied European non-intervention in American affairs. He quoted President Monroe's celebrated message of December 2, 1823, and stating that the proposition that America is in no part open to colonization has long been conceded, he says that our present concern is with the other practical application of the Monroe doctrine, the disregard of which by any European power is to be deemed an act of unfriendliness toward the United States. On this point the Secretary says:—"The precise scope and limitations of this rule cannot be too clearly apprehended. It does not establish any general protectorate by the United States over other American States. It does not relieve any American State from its obligations as fixed by international law, nor prevent any European power directly interested from enforcing such obligations or from inflicting merited punishment for the breach of them. It does not contemplate any interference in the international affairs of any American State or in the relations between it and any other American State. It does not justify any attempt on our part to change the established form of government of any American State, or to prevent the people of such State from altering that form according to their own will and pleasure. The rule in question has but a single purpose and object. It is that no European power or combination of European powers shall forcibly deprive an American State of the right and power of self-government, and of shaping for itself its own political fortunes and destinies."



The Secretary says it is manifest that a rule which has been openly and uniformly acted upon by the executive branch of the Government for seventy years must have had the sanction of Congress; nor, he adds, if the practical result of the rule be sought for, is the record either meagre or obscure. Its first effect was indeed momentous and far-reaching. It was the component factor in the emancipation of South America, and to it the independent States of that region are largely indebted for their very existence. Since then the most striking single achievement to be credited to the rule is the evacuation of Mexico by the French. But the United States are also indebted to it for the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, neutralizing any inter-oceanic canal across Central America and excluding Great Britain from any dominion there. It has been used in the case of Cuba as if justifying the position that, while the sovereignty of Spain will be respected, the island will not be permitted to become the possession of any other European power. It has been influential in bringing about the definite relinquishment of any supposed protectorate by Great Britain over the Mosquito coast. President Polk relied upon it, though, perhaps, erroneously, to prevent the transfer of Yucatan; General Grant, in the same spirit, declared that existing dependencies were no longer a subject of transfer from one European power to another; and another development is found in the objection to the arbitration of South American controversies by a European power, and Secretary Bayard resisted the enforcement of the Pelletier claim against Hayti, declaring that "serious, indeed, would be the consequences if European hostile foot should, without just cause, tread those States in the New World which have emancipated themselves from European control."

THE UNITED STATES' POSITION.

"American questions, it is said, are for American decision," says Secretary Olney. He holds that the enumeration made of the applications of the Monroe doctrine demonstrates that the Venezuelan boundary controversy is in any view within the scope and spirit of the rule as uniformly accepted and acted upon. Europe, he goes on, "has a set of primary interests peculiar to herself. America is not interested in them, and ought not to be vexed or complicated in them. If all Europe were to suddenly fly to arms over the fate of Turkey, would it not be preposterous that any American State would find itself inextricably involved in the miseries and burdens of the contest? What have the States of America to do with the vast armies and fleets of Europe, and why should they be impoverished by wars in which they can have no direct concern? The moral interests of Europe are peculiar to her, and entirely diverse from those which are peculiar to America. Europe is, with a single

important section, committed to the monarchical principle. America is devoted to the idea that every people has an inalienable right of self-government. Any European control of our interests is necessarily both incongruous and injurious, and if the forcible intrusion of European powers in American politics is to be deprecated, the resistance must come from the United States, the only power with strength adequate to the exigency. There can be but one answer to the question whether the safety and welfare of the United States are so concerned with the maintenance of the independence of every American State as against any European power as to justify and require our interposition whenever that independence is endangered. These States are our friends and allies, commercially and politically, and to allow the subjugation of any of them by a European power reverses the situation and signifies a loss of all the advantages incident to

their natural relation to us. But that is not all. The people of the United States have a vital interest in the cause of popular self-government, which they have secured at the cost of infinite blood and treasure. The age of the crusades has passed, and they are content with such assertion and defence of the rights of self-government as their own security and welfare demand. It is in that view more than any other that they will not tolerate the political control of American States by the forcible assumption of a European power. The mischiefs to be apprehended from such a source are none the less real because not immediately imminent in any specific case. The United States is to-day practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law. All the advantages of its superiority are at once imperilled if the principle be admitted that European powers may convert American States into colonies of their own. The principle could be easily availed of, and any power doing so would immediately secure a base of military operations against us, and it is not inconceivable that the struggle now going on for the acquisition of Africa might be transferred to South America. The weaker colonies would soon be absorbed, and so America would be partitioned between European powers. The consequence to the United States would be disastrous. Loss of prestige would be the least of them. Our own real rivals in peace, as well as enemies in war, would be located at our very doors. We must be armed to the teeth, convert the flower of our male population into soldiers and sailors, and thus annihilate a large share of the productive energy of the nation. Our just apprehensions are not to be allayed by suggestions of the good will of European powers towards us, for the people of the United States have learned in the school of experience to what extent the rela-



tions of States depend, not upon sentiment or principle, but upon selfish interests. They will not soon forget that in their hour of distress all their anxieties and burdens were aggravated by the possibility of demonstrations against their national life on the part of powers with whom they had long maintained the most harmonious relations. They have yet in mind that France seized upon the apparent opportunity of civil war to set up a monarchy in Mexico, and had France and Great Britain held important South American possessions to work from and benefit, the temptation to destroy our predominance by furthering our dismemberment might have been irresistible. From that grave peril we were saved in the past, and may be saved again in the future, through the operation of the sure, but silent, voice of the doctrine proclaimed by President Monroe."

AN AMERICAN DOCTRINE.

"There is then," goes on Secretary Olney, "a doctrine of American public law, well founded in principles, and abundantly sanctioned by precedent, which entitles and requires the United States to treat as an injury to herself the forcible assumption by an European power of political control over an American State. The application of the doctrine to the boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela remains to be made, and presents no real difficulty."

The Secretary shows that though relating to the boundary line, the question is one of political control over a domain of great extent, the British claim apparently expanding in two years some 33,000 square miles, and directly involving the command of the mouth of the Orinoco, of immense consequence in connection with the whole river navigation of the interior of South America. He dismissed as valueless the contention that British Guiana may in this controversy be regarded as an American State like Venezuela. He suggests that while Venezuela may possibly not object to settling the matter directly with British Guiana, if this contention were only allowed, every European power with a South American colony might extend its possessions indefinitely, while other powers might do the same by first procuring a voluntary concession of a small tract of soil. It is not admitted, and therefore cannot be assumed, that Great Britain in fact is usurping dominion over Venezuelan soil. While Venezuela charges such usurpation, Great Britain denies it, and the United States, until the merits are authoritatively ascertained, can take sides with neither; but it may demand that the truth shall be ascertained. Being entitled to resent and resist any sequestration of Venezuelan soil by Great Britain, it is necessarily entitled to know whether such sequestration has taken place, or is now going on. There

is but one feasible mode of determining the merits of the question, and that is peaceable arbitration. Great Britain admits that there is a controversy which should be adjusted by arbitration, but nullifies this admission by her insistence that the submission shall cover but a part of the controversy. She says (comments Mr. Olney) to Venezuela in substance:—"You can get none of the debatable land by force, because you are not strong enough; you can get none by treaty, because I will not agree; and you can take your chance at getting a portion by arbitration, only if you first agree to abandon to me such other portion as I may designate."

Summing up, Secretary Olney says:—"In these circumstances the duty of the President appears to him unmistakable and imperative. Great Britain's assertion of title to the disputed territory, combined with her refusal to have that title investigated, being a substantial appropriation of the territory to her own use, not to protest and give warning that the transaction will be regarded as injurious to the interests of the people of the United States, as well as oppressive in itself, would be to ignore an established policy with which the honour and welfare of this country are closely identified. While the measures necessary or proper for the vindication of that policy are to be determined by another branch of the Government, it is clearly for the Executive to leave nothing undone which may tend to render such determination unnecessary."

In conclusion, Mr. Bayard is directed to read this communication to Lord Salisbury, reinforced by such pertinent considerations as would doubtless occur to him. The communication calls for a definite decision as to whether Great Britain will consent or decline to submit the entire boundary question to arbitration. The President hopes that the conclusion will be on the side of arbitration, but if he is disappointed, "a result not to be anticipated, and in his judgment calculated to greatly embarrass the future relations between this country and Great Britain," he wishes to be acquainted with the fact at such early date as will enable him to lay the whole subject before Congress in his next annual message.

A short note from Acting Secretary Adee to Mr. Bayard, of date July 24th, explains the basis for Secretary Olney's statement that the British claim was suddenly increased in two years by 32,000 square miles.

THE BRITISH SIDE.

The British side of the dispute is embodied in the two notes from Lord Salisbury to Sir Julian Pauncefote. Both notes are dated the same day, and the former, which the Ambassador is directed to communicate to Secretary Olney, is of the highest importance, as in it Lord Salisbury goes



political system to America, or to control the political condition of any of the American communities who had recently declared their independence. The dangers against which President Monroe thought it right to guard were not as imaginary as they would seem at the present day. The formation of the Holy Alliance; the congresses of Laybach and Verona; the invasion of Spain by France for the purpose of forcing upon the Spanish people a form of government which seemed likely to disappear unless it was sustained by external aid, were incidents fresh in the mind of President Monroe when he penned his celebrated message. The system of which he speaks, and of which he so resolutely deprecates the application to the American continent, was the system then adopted by certain powerful States upon the continent of Europe of combining to prevent by force of arms the adoption in other countries of political institutions which they disliked, and to uphold by external pressure those which they approved. Various portions of South America had recently declared their independence, and that independence had not been recognized by the Governments of Spain and Portugal, to which, with small exception, the whole of Central and South America were nominally subject. It was not an imaginary danger that he foresaw, if he feared that the same spirit which had dictated the French expedition into Spain might inspire the more powerful Governments of Europe with the idea of imposing, by the force of arms, upon the South American communities the term of government and the political connection which they had thrown off. In declaring that the United States would resist any such enterprise if it was contemplated, President Monroe adopted a policy which received the entire sympathy of the English Government of that date.

CIRCUMSTANCES DIFFERENT.

The dangers which were apprehended by President Monroe have no relation to the state of things in which we live at the present day. There is no danger of any holy alliance imposing its system upon any portion of the American continent, and there is no danger of any European State treating any part of the American continent as a fit object for European colonization. It is intelligible that Mr. Olney should invoke, in defence of the views on which he is now insisting, an authority which enjoys so high a popularity with his own fellow-countrymen. But the circumstances with which President Monroe was dealing, and those to which the present American Government is addressing itself, have very few features in common. Great Britain is imposing no "system" upon Venezuela, and is not concerning herself in any way with the nature of the political institutions under which the Venezuelans may prefer to live. But the British Empire and the Republic

broadly into the Monroe doctrine. It is as follows:—
Lord Salisbury to Sir Julian Pauncefote (No. 189).

Foreign Office, November 26, 1895.
Sir,—The seventh of August I transmitted to Lord Gough a copy of the despatch from Mr. Olney which Mr. Sayard had left with me that day, and of which he had read portions to me. I informed him at the time that it could not be answered until it had been carefully considered by the law officers of the Crown. I have therefore deferred replying to it till after the recess.

I will not now deal with those portions of it which are concerned exclusively with the controversy that has for some time past existed between the Republic of Venezuela and her Majesty's Government in regard to the boundary which separates their dominions. I take a very different view from Mr. Olney of the various matters upon which he touches in that part of the despatch; but I will defer for the present all observations upon it, as it concerns matters which are not in themselves of first-rate importance, and do not directly concern the relations between Great Britain and the United States.

The latter part, however, of the despatch, turning from the question of the frontiers of Venezuela, proceeds to deal with principles of a far wider character, and to advance doctrines of international law which are of considerable interest to all the nations whose dominions include any portion of the western hemisphere. The contentions set forth by Mr. Olney in this part of his despatch are represented by him as being an application of the political maxims which are well known in American discussion under the name of the Monroe doctrine. As far as I am aware, this doctrine has never been before advanced on behalf of the United States in any written communication addressed to the Government of another nation; but it has been generally adopted and assumed as true by many eminent writers and politicians in the United States. It is said to have largely influenced the Government of that country in the conduct of its foreign affairs, though Mr. Clayton, who was Secretary of State under President Taylor, expressly stated that that Administration had in no way adopted it. But during the period that has elapsed since the message of President Monroe was delivered in 1823 the doctrine has undergone a very notable development, and the aspect which it now presents in the hands of Mr. Olney differs widely from its character when it first issued from the pen of its author. The two propositions which in effect President Monroe laid down were:—First, that America was no longer to be looked upon as a field for European colonization; and, secondly, that Europe must not attempt to extend its



of Venezuela are neighbours, and they have differed for some time past, and continue to differ, as to the line by which their dominions are separated. It is a controversy with which the United States have no apparent practical concern. It is difficult, indeed, to see how it can materially affect any State or community outside those primarily interested, except perhaps other parts of her Majesty's dominions, such as Trinidad. The disputed frontier of Venezuela has nothing to do with any of the questions dealt with by President Monroe. It is not a question of the colonization by a European power of any portion of America. It is not a question of the imposition upon the communities of South America of any system of government devised in Europe. It is simply the determination of the frontier of a British possession, which belonged to the throne of England long before the Republic of Venezuela came into existence. But even if the interests of Venezuela were so far linked to those of the United States as to give to the latter locus standi in this controversy, their Government apparently have not formed, and certainly do not express, any opinion upon the actual merits of the dispute. The Government of the United States do not say that Great Britain or that Venezuela is in the right in the matters that are in issue. But they lay down that the doctrine of President Monroe, when he opposed the imposition of European systems, or the renewal of European colonization, confers upon them the right of demanding that when a European power has a frontier difference with a South American community, the European power shall consent to refer that controversy to arbitration; and

Mr. Olney states that unless her Majesty's Government accedes to this demand, it will "greatly embarrass the future relations between Great Britain and the United States."

NOVEL PREROGATIVE.

Whatever may be the authority of the doctrine laid down by President Monroe, there is nothing in his language to show that he ever thought of claiming this novel prerogative for the United States. It is admitted that he did not seek to assert a protectorate over Mexico, or the States of Central and South America. Such a claim would have imposed upon the United States the duty of answering for the conduct of these States, and consequently the responsibility of controlling it. His sagacious foresight would have led him energetically to deprecate the addition of so serious a burden to those which the rulers of the United States have to bear. It follows of necessity that if the Government of the United States will not control the conduct of those communities, neither can it undertake to protect them from the consequences attaching to any misconduct of which

they may be guilty towards other nations. If they violate in any way the rights of another State, or of its subjects, it is not alleged that the Monroe doctrine will assure them the assistance of the United States in escaping from any reparation which they may be bound by international law to give. Mr. Olney expressly disclaims such an inference from the principles he lays down. But the claim which he founds upon them is that, if any independent American State advances a demand for territory of which its neighbour claims to be the owner, and that neighbour is the colony of a European State, the United States have a right to insist that the European State shall submit the demand and its own impugned rights to arbitration. I will not now enter into a discussion of the merits of this method of terminating international differences. It has proved itself valuable in many cases; but it is not free from defects, which often operate as a serious drawback on its value. It is not always easy to find an arbitrator who is competent, and who, at the same time, is wholly free from bias; and the task of insuring compliance with the award when it is made is not exempt from difficulty. It is a mode of settlement of which the value varies much, according to the nature of the controversy to which it is applied, and the character of the litigants who appeal to it. Whether in any particular case it is a suitable method of procedure is generally a delicate and difficult question. The only parties who are competent to decide that question are the two parties whose rival contentions are in issue. The claim of a third nation which is unaffected by the controversy to impose this particular procedure on either of the two others cannot be reasonably justified, and has no foundation in the law of nations.

NOT ACCEPTING THE DOCTRINE.

In the remarks which I have made, I have argued on the theory that the Monroe doctrine in itself is sound. I must not, however, be understood as expressing any acceptance of it on the part of her Majesty's Government. It must always be mentioned with respect, on account of the distinguished statesman to whom it is due, and the great nation who have generally adopted it. But international law is founded on the general consent of nations; and no statesman, however eminent, and no nation, however powerful, are competent to insert into the code of international law a novel principle which was never recognised before, and which has not since been accepted by the Government of any other country. The United States have a right, like any other nation, to interpose in any controversy by which their own interests are affected; and they are the judge whether those interests are touched, and in what measure they should be sustained. But their rights are in no way



strengthened or extended by the fact that the controversy affects some territory which is called American. Mr. Olney quotes the case of the recent Chilian war, in which the United States declined to join with France and England in an effort to bring hostilities to a close, on account of the Monroe doctrine. The United States were entirely in their right in declining to join in an attempt at pacification if they thought fit; but Mr. Olney's principle that "American questions are for American decision," even if it received any countenance from the language of President Monroe (which it does not), cannot be sustained by any reasoning drawn from the law of nations. The Government of the United States is not entitled to affirm as a universal proposition, with reference to a number of independent States for whose conduct it assumes no responsibility, that its interests are necessarily concerned in whatever may befall those States simply because they are situated in the western hemisphere. It may well be that the interests of the United States are affected by something that happens to Chili or Peru, and that the circumstance may give them the right of interference; but such a contingency may equally happen in the case of China or Japan, and the right of interference is not more extensive or more assured in the one case than in any other.

Though the language of President Monroe is directed to the attainment of objects which most Englishmen would agree to be salutary, it is impossible to admit that they have been inscribed by any adequate authority in the code of international law, and the danger which such admission would involve is sufficiently exhibited both by the strange development which the doctrine has received at Mr. Olney's hands and the arguments by which it is supported in the despatch under reply. In defence of it he says:—"That a distance of three thousand miles of intervening ocean make any permanent political union between a European and an American State unnatural and inexpedient will hardly be denied. But physical and geographical considerations are the least of the objections to such a union. Europe has a set of primary interests which are peculiar to herself. America is not interested in them, and ought not to be vexed or complicated with them." And again:—"Thus far in our history we have been spared the burdens and evils of immense standing armies, and all the other accessories of huge warlike establishments; and the exemption has highly contributed to our national greatness and wealth, as well as to the happiness of every citizen. But with the powers of Europe permanently encamped on American soil, the ideal conditions we have thus far enjoyed cannot be expected to continue."

MR. OLNEY'S CLAIM.

The necessary meaning of these words is that the union between Great Britain and Canada, between Great Britain and Jamaica and Trinidad, between Great Britain and British Honduras or British Guiana, are "inexpedient and unnatural."

President Monroe disclaims any such inference from his doctrine, but in this, as in other respects, Mr. Olney develops it. He lays down that the inexpedient and unnatural character of the union between European and American States is so obvious that it "will hardly be denied." Her Majesty's Government are prepared emphatically to deny it, on behalf of both the British and American people who are subject to her Crown. They maintain that the union between Great Britain and her territories in the western hemisphere is both natural and expedient. They fully concur with the view which President Monroe appar-

ently entertained, that any disturbance of the existing territorial distribution in that hemisphere by any fresh acquisitions on the part of any European State would be a highly inexpedient change. But they are not prepared to admit that the recognition of that expediency is clothed with the sanction which belongs to a doctrine of international law. They are not prepared to admit that the interests of the United States are necessarily concerned in every frontier dispute which may arise between any two of the States who possess dominion in the western hemisphere; and still less can they accept the doctrine that the United States are entitled to claim that the process of arbitration shall be applied to any demand for the surrender of territory which one of those States may make against another.

I have commented in the above remarks only upon the general aspect of Mr. Olney's doctrines, apart from the special considerations which attach to the controversy between the United Kingdom and Venezuela in its present phase. This controversy has undoubtedly been made more difficult by the inconsiderate action of the Venezuelan Government in breaking off the relations with her Majesty's Government, and its settlement has been correspondingly delayed, but her Majesty's Government have not surrendered the hope that it will be adjusted by a reasonable arrangement at an early day. I request that you will read the substance of the above despatch to Mr. Olney and leave him a copy if he desires it.

AT THE EMBASSIES.

At the White House messages poured in from every quarter of the country congratulating the President upon his message. They came from men of all parties and of every station. The matter of course was of the greatest interest in diplomatic circles, and the general impression, on



14

a sober second consideration of the notes, was that the matter has not yet reached a stage where war is imminent, and that the hint of Great Britain's purpose to reopen negotiations with Venezuela, looking to a settlement of the dispute between themselves, perhaps may be regarded as the indication of how the whole matter will end.

Minister Andrade, of Venezuela, secured a copy of the message early in the day, and cabled it by way of Cuba and Hayti to his Government. The time of transmission is eight hours, and it is felt that its reception at Caracas will be the signal for an enthusiastic demonstration.

Mr. Andrade's satisfaction was almost beyond the power of expression. "It is," he said, "even a surprise to me in its vigour, in the nobility of the sentiments expressed, and in the masterly exposition of the Monroe doctrine."

Mr. Andrade was asked what the next step of Venezuela would be. "There is nothing further for us to do. We have announced our policy, and in that we have the co-operation and support of the United States. We are little more than spectators now."

"Is the plan of a commission to investigate the question and fix the line feasible?" the Minister was asked.

"Perfectly so," he replied. "The evidence can readily be furnished so far as Venezuela is concerned. It will be a laborious work, as the documents and maps are very voluminous and from many sources, including those of Holland, Spain, and other countries, as well as those of Venezuela."

At the British Embassy Sir Julian Pauncefote and his official corps shared in the general interest in the question. It was stated that the Foreign Office made public at noon today the Salisbury answer, simultaneous with its publication here, but as the President's message is to Congress, and has not gone through diplomatic channels, it was not a part of the matter given to the British public by the Foreign Office today. Mr. Bax-Irsonides, of the Embassy staff, went to the Capitol during the day to witness the reading of the documents, but was not present during the demonstration in the Senate.

Beyond the Salisbury letters, the Embassy has received no communications on the Venezuelan subject, so that the case rests on the correspondence submitted to-day.

THE SECOND NOTE.

The correspondence closes with another note from Lord Salisbury to Sir Julian Pauncefote, intended for delivery to Secretary Olney on the same date as his preceding note, from which it was probably separated because it deals entirely with the merits of the British claim to the territory in dispute.

Lord Salisbury begins with the statement that "Her Majesty's Government, while they have never avoided or declined argument on the subject with the Government of Venezuela, have always held that the question was one which had no direct bearing on the material interests of any other country, and have consequently refrained hitherto from presenting any detailed statement of their case, either to the United States or to other foreign Governments."

Probably for this reason, says Lord Salisbury, Mr. Olney's statement bears the impression of being mainly if not entirely founded on ex-parte Venezuelan statements, and gives an erroneous view of many of the material facts. He asserts that the present difficulty would never have arisen if Venezuela had been content to claim only those territories which could be proven, or even reasonably asserted, to have been quietly in the possession of a captaincy-general of Venezuela. He attacks the Spanish title to the lands as vague and ill-founded, and contends that to the validity of the Dutch title, under which Great Britain now claims, there exist the most authentic declarations. Lord Salisbury says:—"The fundamental principle underlying the Venezuelan argument is that inasmuch as Spain was originally entitled of right to the whole American continent, any territory on that continent which she cannot be shown to have acknowledged in specific and positive terms to have passed to another power can only have been acquired by wrongful usurpation, and if situated to the north of the Amazon and west of the Atlantic, must necessarily belong to Venezuela, as her self-constituted inheritor in these regions. It may reasonably be asked whether Mr. Olney would consent to refer to the arbitration of another a pretension raised by the Government of Mexico on such a foundation to large tracts of territory which had long been comprised in the federation."

THE SCHOMBURG LINE.

Lord Salisbury then proceeds to state the circumstances connected with the marking of the Schomburg line. He says that the British Government notified Venezuela in 1839 of its intention to provisionally survey this boundary, its purpose being after the survey to communicate to other Governments its views as to the true line of the British boundary, and then settle any details as to which these Governments might object. At the very outset he placed boundary posts at Point Barima, on the remains of the Dutch fort, and while the posts there and at the mouth of the Amacure were removed at the urgent entreaty of Venezuela, the concession was made on the distinct understanding that Great Britain did not thereby abandon her claim to that position. Schomburg held that Great Brit-



ain might justly claim the whole basin of the Cuyuni and Yuruari, but suggested that claims to this region be surrendered in return for the recognition of the right to Point Barima. The Schomburg line, says Lord Salisbury, was in fact a great reduction of the boundary claimed by Great Britain as a matter of right, and its proposal originated in a desire to come to a friendly and speedy arrangement with a weaker power.

The note next gives in great detail a statement of the main facts of the discussions which have ensued with the Venezuelan Government. Of Lord Aberdeen's proposal, which made great concessions out of friendly regard for Venezuela, Lord Salisbury says it remained unanswered for more than six years, wherefore the Venezuelan Government was notified that it had lapsed. Lord Granville's proposition in 1881, also involving considerable reductions from the Schomburg line, was, he says, likewise never answered. Lord Salisbury charges that Venezuela has repeatedly violated the treaty of 1850, by the terms of which both Governments agreed to refrain from aggression upon the territory in dispute, for which reason, in 1880, her Majesty's Government decided not to repeat the offer of concessions which had not been reciprocated, but to assert her undoubted right to the territory within the Schomburg line, while still holding open for negotiations, and even arbitration, the unsettled lands beyond that and within what they considered to be their rightful boundary.

Referring to Guzman Blanco's declaration to arbitrate the title to these unsettled lands alone, and insistence on a full arbitration, Lord Salisbury says:—"This pretension is hardly less exorbitant than would be a refusal by Great Britain to agree to an arbitration on the boundary of British Columbia and Alaska unless the United States would consent to bring into question one-half of the whole area of that territory."

Lord Salisbury rapidly traces the history of the following negotiations down to 1887, when the situation had become so acute, owing to the Venezuelan demands for an evacuation of the disputed territory by Great Britain, that the British representative at Caracas received his passports and diplomatic relations were declared by Venezuela to be suspended. He says that no steps have been taken by the British authorities to exercise jurisdiction beyond the Schomburg line, nor to interfere with the proceedings of the Venezuelans in the territory outside, although, pending a settlement, Great Britain cannot recognize these proceedings as valid or conferring title. The question, he adds, has remained in this position ever since. Great Britain has from the first held to the same view as to the extent of her territory, waiving a portion of its claims, however,

and being willing to arbitrate another portion, but as regards the rest within the Schomburg line, they do not consider that the rights of Great Britain are open to question. If the concessions which Great Britain has been willing to make from time to time have diminished, it has been because she is unwilling to surrender to foreign rule control over her subjects who have gradually colonized the country. The discrepancy in maps is easily accounted for, and the British Government cannot be made responsible for publications made without their authority. In conclusion, Lord Salisbury says:—"Although the negotiations in 1850, 1891 and 1892 did not lead to any result, her Majesty's Government have not abandoned the hope that they may be resumed with better success, and that when the internal politics of Venezuela are settled on a more durable basis than has lately appeared to be the case, her Majesty's Government may be enabled to adopt a more moderate and conciliatory course in regard to this question than that of their predecessors. Her Majesty's Government are sincerely desirous of being on friendly relations with Venezuela, and certainly have no desire to seize territory that properly belongs to her, or forcibly to extend sovereignty over any portion of her population.

"They have, on the contrary, repeatedly expressed their readiness to submit to arbitration the conflicting claims of Great Britain and Venezuela to large tracts of territory, which, from their auriferous nature, are known to be of almost untold value. But they cannot consent to entertain, or to submit to the arbitration of any power or of foreign jurists, however eminent, claims based on the extravagant pretensions of Spanish officials in the last century, and involving the transfer of large numbers of British subjects who have for many years enjoyed the settled rule of a British colony to a nation of different race and language, whose political system is subject to frequent disturbance, and whose institutions as yet too often afford very inadequate protection to life and property. No issue of this description has ever been involved in the questions which Great Britain and the United States have consented to submit to arbitration, and her Majesty's Government are convinced that in similar circumstances the Government of the United States would be equally firm in declining to entertain proposals of such a nature."

ENDORSED BY U. S. PRESS.

New York, Dec. 17.—The editorial comments of most of the leading newspapers throughout the country which will be published in the morning will endorse the President's message, irrespective of party politics. The Albany Press and Nickerbocker may be said to fairly reflect the general consensus of expressed opinion among Democratic papers when it says:—



"President Cleveland has silenced the tongues and closed the mouths of his carping critics with such abruptness that he has left most of them breathless and even gasping. His recommendations have every mark of sincerity, the policy outlined is sufficiently emphatic, and the position he takes will receive the backing of every true son of America. John Bull has had one side of his face slapped. If he turns the other side another and heavier slap will be ready. That is what the message means."

Republican comment is scarcely less enthusiastic. The Buffalo Express, for instance, commends the message as "bold and patriotic." "At last," the Express says, "the people of the United States will present a solid front with regard to our foreign policy, unbroken by partisan bickerings or jealousies. This is something which never has happened before in our history as a nation. It is not too much therefore to say that the message read to the Houses of Congress yesterday is the most important document which Grover Cleveland ever penned. It will be a notice to European powers that if they trench on the Monroe doctrine they will have to deal not with a party as a faction, not with a small group of diplomats whose tenure of office is limited, but with a whole people."

A DISSENTING VOICE.

The New York World is almost alone in assuming a hostile tone with respect to the message. The World says in part:—"President Cleveland's message to Congress on the Venezuelan matter is a serious blunder. It is a blunder because it is based upon a wrong conception, because it is not sustained by international law or usage, and because it places the United States in a false position. The President, in his message, like Secretary Olney in his despatches, assumes that the policy of Great Britain in Venezuela involves a menace to this country. Are our peace and safety as a nation, the integrity of our free institutions, and the tranquil maintenance of our distinctive form of government threatened by an extension, however unwarranted and arbitrary, of English possessions in Venezuela? The preposterous nature of this jingo bugaboo is sufficiently indicated by pointing to Canada and to British Columbia, on our very border. England is not a 'foreign nation' in this hemisphere. Great Britain owns more territory on this continent than we do. She was here before we were a nation. If she had the hostile intentions which the President's words impute, did she need to wait for a boundary dispute in distant Venezuela with a hybrid race to assail us, or to menace our Republican institutions? The assumption is absurd, and with it falls the structure of ponderously patriotic rhetoric reared upon it by the President."

LONDON PRESS COMMENTS.

London, Dec. 17.—The note of Secretary Olney to the Marquis of Salisbury on the Venezuelan question and the reply of the Marquis thereto were published in the Official Gazette to-night.

All the morning papers to-morrow will devote more or less of their editorial space to a discussion of President Cleveland's message on the Venezuelan question, and to the merits of the question itself.

The Daily Telegraph (Liberal) will publish an editorial, contending that America has no concern in the Venezuelan dispute. The editorial goes on to say:—"In truth, this invocation of the Monroe doctrine seems, on this side of the water, to be irrelevant, because there is no question of territorial greed, or the imposition of an European system. It is absurd, because a statement of an American policy can hardly claim to attain the rank of a principle of international law. By what right does the Washington Government demand the arbitration of this matter, when the very theory which guides their interference has absolutely nothing to do with the points in dispute? What nation has ever agreed to the Monroe doctrine? How often has the Washington Government itself ventured to advance it? We say nothing of the process of twisting the lion's tail generally resorted to at times of electoral excitement. Yet if it be true that all this zealous support of Venezuela originated in part in an intrigue there is still less reason why we should submit to what, from the British standpoint, is a wholly perverse and inadmissible claim."

The Daily Graphic says in an editorial:—"The epitaph of the Monroe doctrine has been written in the Venezuelan correspondence. President Cleveland's message is a document which self-respecting Americans will not read with either pride or pleasure. It only serves to illustrate another of the inherent absurdities of modern interpretation of the Monroe doctrine. President Cleveland does not propose to instruct Mr. Bayard to demand his passports, nor does he contemplate an invasion of Canada, or an expedition to Demerara. He is struck by the awkward fact that he must first ascertain what there is to fight about. Does President Cleveland seriously think that we can admit the proposition that the frontiers of European colonies in the two Americas are to be held at the good pleasure of a committee of Washington gentlemen? What would the United States have said in 1843 if we, as an American power, had advanced the claim, based on this principle, to protect Mexico from a wantonly aggressive war by which President Cleveland's predecessor settled the Texan boundary dispute?"



17

The Times says, in its editorial on the situation:—"It is impossible to disguise the gravity of the difficulties that have arisen between Great Britain and the United States. President Cleveland's message and its reception on both sides of the Senate give additional importance to the despatches between Washington and London. The details of the boundary dispute are insignificant in comparison with the far-reaching claims advanced in Mr. Olney's despatch and emphasized in President Cleveland's message. Convinced as we are that a rupture between the two great English-speaking communities would be a calamity not only to themselves, but to the civilized world, we are nevertheless driven to the conclusion that the concessions this country is so imperiously summoned to make are such as no self-respecting nation, least of all one ruling an Empire that has its roots in every quarter of the globe, could possibly submit to. The United States themselves would never for a moment dream of yielding to this kind of dictation. We are of the same blood, and shall not be less careful of our national honour. We can hardly believe the course threatened by President Cleveland will be seriously adopted by the American Government; but if so, it will be incumbent upon us, without entering upon any aggressive measures, to pro-

tect our Imperial interests, and to stand up for our rights under international law." The Times then proceeds to argue that the Monroe doctrine has never been recognized as international law, and it quotes Lord Salisbury's admission that any disturbances of the existing territorial possessions in the western hemisphere by any European State would be highly inexpedient, and then continues:—"But the recognition of this expediency does not cover the preposterous deductions which Mr. Olney's despatch advances, and which President Cleveland makes the basis of the most astounding proposal that has perhaps ever been advanced by any Government in times of peace since the days of Napoleon. We desire to speak with all proper reserve, but we can confidently predict that Great Britain will not admit the pretensions put forward by President Cleveland. No commission appointed by a power which is not a party to a dispute will be recognized by us as having a title of any sort to pronounce upon a boundary question. It will receive no assistance from the British authorities. Its decision will be null and void from the outset, even if its origin did not taint it with partiality. We shall be very much astonished if there is any disagreement among the organs of public opinion in this country as to the manner in which such a claim should be confronted." The Times contends further that England is bound to reject the extended claims of Mon-

roeism, and says:—"A power which has command of the sea does not regard 3,000 miles of intervening ocean as severing it from its subjects."

The Standard, the Conservative organ, in an editorial on the message says:—"This extraordinary document will receive from English publicists more dispassionate treatment than the decidedly provocative nature of its contents renders altogether easy. It was prepared by the responsible head of a State, and will probably receive the formal assent of Congress. Englishmen must therefore take it seriously, and refrain from speculations that would otherwise be attractive as to the utility, in view of the Presidential election, of twisting the lion's tail. The position President Cleveland assumes is preposterous. No American citizen would for a moment dream of admitting its soundness in any analogous case in which the honour and interests of America were concerned. There can be but one answer. We decline to humiliate ourselves, and we refuse to accept the decision of Washington in matters altogether outside its jurisdiction." The remainder of the Standard's article is an echo of Lord Salisbury's argument.

14



18

The Mail
19. Dec. 95.

DEFENDERS OF THE DOCTRINE.

The House of Representatives has responded with promptness and enthusiasm to the proposal of President Cleveland that the United States shall now take into its own hands the delicate business of ascertaining and establishing the boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela. Without a dissenting vote the House passed a bill authorizing the President to appoint a Venezuelan Boundary Commission, and appropriating \$100,000 for its expenses. The popular Assembly has lost no time in signifying its warm approval of the message. In the Senate, which as a rule is worthy of the name it has as the deliberative body of the American Congress, there has been more decent haste. Certain Senators who have always affected a sort of patriotic madness were ready with bills in support of the message, but the Chamber did no hot voting. Senator Chandler, of New Hampshire, who a few weeks ago wrote in his newspaper that war with Britain was inevitable, and who a few days ago wrote a very insulting letter to President Cleveland, introduced a bill to strengthen the military armament of the country by the addition of a million infantry rifles, a thousand pieces of field artillery, and five thousand heavy fortification guns. This, however, along with a resolution offered by Mr. Gallinger, the other New Hampshire Senator, authorizing the purchase of a counterpoise battery, was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs. But though the Senate is less ardent than the House, there is little doubt that it will support the stand taken by the President, though it may not proceed at once to provide for the appointment of a commission. Its Committee on Foreign Relations will sit during the holidays, and apply itself to the study of the Venezuelan question. The recess begins on Friday, and is to last until the third of January. In that time the judgment of the legislators will have a chance to become clearer and cooler. But so

far as Congress is concerned, it is not so much passion as bidding for votes that is likely to make mischief. A great part of the fuss made by members of Congress is caused, not by any strong feeling excited by insult to the Monroe doctrine, but by the desire to make sure of their re-election. This circumstance does not make the outlook for peace any the more reassuring. The legislators, whatever their own true feelings may be, must be aware that hostility to Britain is very popular, or they would not so readily embrace an occasion for it. It is in the evident temper of the people themselves, as reflected and humoured by their representatives, that the danger lies. Mr. Cleveland may himself have no great heart for a quarrel with Britain, but since he seeks such a quarrel, apparently with a view to a third term in office, he must be sure that the nation has. That he and Congress understand the people aright hardly admits of question, and if it did the tenor of press remarks on the subject would dispel all doubts. The Monroe doctrine may enlist little of the feeling that is so freely expressed; hatred of England appears to be sufficient to account for all of it.

Intensely as the people of the United States dislike and envy Britain, a war with her can hardly be relished by their cold judgment. In bringing one on they place their whole national prosperity at stake. They cannot deceive themselves into the belief that they are a match for Britain as a sea power. Her navy has easily three times the strength of theirs. Their merchant marine and their ports would be at the mercy of her Ironclads. The direct loss they would be liable to sustain by this damage alone would be frightfully large. Added, however, from the odds in favour of their defeat, there are to be considered the heavy consequences of the mere cessation of peace. That would mean a cessation



of trade between the two countries, and from that the United States has far more to lose than Britain has. In the first half of this year Britain bought from the United States produce to the value of \$235,000,000, whereas the purchases from Britain by the United States during the same period amounted to only \$67,000,000. Moreover, other nations can supply Britain with all the foodstuffs that she wants the moment trade connection with the United States ceases, and the United States has not a sufficient navy to cut off that supply. The loss of the British market, great as it would be, would be but a small thing by comparison with another effect on the welfare of the United States. War, or a mere war scare, would instantly cause a withdrawal of British gold. The quantity of British capital invested in railways, in corporate industries of various kinds, and in all sorts of securities, is estimated at \$2,000,000,000. Let the owners of this vast sum begin once to withdraw it, and the national prosperity would tumble like a house of cards. We had an example of the effect in 1893, when British investors became alarmed by

the silver crisis. They at once began a feverish selling movement, their securities were thrown on the market, and there was a collapse of industry, commerce, finance, almost of national life, in the United States. The prodigious and ruinous effects of that panic opened the eyes of our neighbours to a sense of their dependence on Britain. A war would bring its own proper horrors, and with them a panic beside which the silver crisis would be mild. It would undoubtedly also cause a tremendous loss to British investors, but this would have no appreciable national effect in England. Already the war talk has begun to do its work. British holders of United States securities have been hastening to part with them since the message was published, and the prices of these securities, in the language of the New York Evening Post, have "crumbled." The natural sequel—gold shipments—follows rapidly. Four million dollars are booked for transmission to Europe by Saturday's steamer. Not only are securities being sent home from London, but also from financial centres on the Continent. Our neighbours may find that the Monroe doctrine is more than they can afford. For us in Canada the situation is not without its moral. Our interests must be watched by men who are British and Canadian through and through.



The Globe.

19. Dec. 1895

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

More than one explanation is offered to account for Mr. Cleveland's course on the Venezuelan matter, but there will be a natural hesitation in accepting those which ascribe it to the exigencies of party tactics. That the Chief Magistrate of the United States should lead his country into a position where there is only a choice left between national humiliation and war for the mere purpose of going his opponents one better in the game of jingo almost transcends belief; but, looking at the matter from every side, it is difficult to avoid that conclusion. American newspapers, indeed, which are not unfriendly to the President, frankly put that construction on his action. The New York Post, which is usually decidedly friendly, says:—

"The question which Mr. Cleveland's warlike message suggests is mainly which of the two parties is likely to get most capital during the Presidential year out of this Venezuelan dispute. That we are going, in the name of the Monroe doctrine, to assert such ownership of the American hemisphere as will enable us to trace all the boundary lines on it to our own satisfaction in defiance of the rest of the world, is a thesis which we do not believe is yet ripe for discussion. What interests us most is how his proposal to appoint a tracing commission will strike the Republicans. Will they give him the money for its expenses, and enable him all next year to pose as the war candidate for the Presidency? Or is his proposal sufficiently near war to make it a delicate matter to reject it in view of the jingo vote? Will they consent to have him put his own men on the commission, and thus get weekly glory out of the whole business between now and next October? These are the most important questions now pending. Mr. Cleveland showed in 1883 by his treatment of poor Sackville-

West that he was not incapable of using foreign questions to achieve domestic victories. The present message shows that his party may still count on him for further assistance from the same source."

Supposing it to be, as The Post says, a mere party move, it is worth estimating how far President Cleveland has gone and what risks he has incurred for the purpose of outgeneralling his opponents. Lord Salisbury has rejected the President's proposal to arbitrate the whole question, on the ground that the Venezuelans desire to include in the reference territory which is colonized by British subjects and which has been recognized as British soil for two generations at least. He has no objection to an arbitration as to ownership of the disputed territory outside these limits. The position is analogous to that of a man who had occupied a piece of property for a sufficient time to make his title good, whatever it might have been in the first instance. He would very naturally object to having his title judged by the proofs he was able to put forward of original ownership. But President Cleveland comes forward and says Venezuela's entire claim must be submitted to arbitration at the risk of provoking hostilities with the United States in case of refusal. He, moreover, recommends to the Senate the appointment of American commissioners to inquire into the Venezuelan claims. To such a commission, virtually appointed by a party to the dispute, the English case would not, of course, be submitted. We would have a report, therefore, on ex-parte evidence, and if it sustained the Venezuelan claims it is to be presumed that the United States would bring force to



THE SUNDAY

TIMES-HERALD, CHICAGO.

DECEMBER 22, 1895.

MONROE AND HIS WORK

MAN AND DOCTRINE SKETCHED.

The Fifth President Exhibited Capacity and Patriotism in Every Official Act—History and Exposition of His Famous American Idea.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21.—James Monroe, whose name since the recent Venezuelan developments is on every lip as the author of that doctrine upon which the President's message was predicated, was the fifth President of the United States, having succeeded Madison in 1817. He was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, April 28, 1758, and served his country with great distinction in various fields. He was descended from Captain Monroe, an officer in the army of Charles I., who with other cavaliers emigrated to Virginia in 1632. He was educated at William and Mary College, which he left in 1776 to enter the army as a cadet. Soon afterward he was commissioned lieutenant, and took an active part in the campaign on the Hudson. In the attack on Trenton, at the head of a small detachment, he captured one of the British batteries. On this occasion he received a ball in the shoulder, and was promoted to the rank of captain.

At the beginning of the campaign of 1777 Captain Monroe was advanced to the rank of major and assigned to duty as an aid-de-camp on the staff of Lord Stirling and served in that capacity through the campaigns of that year and the next, distinguishing himself in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth. By accepting this staff service, however, he lost his rank in the regular line, and subsequently falling in his efforts to re-enter the army as a commissioned officer, he returned to Virginia and began the study of law under the direction of Thomas Jefferson, then governor of the state.

When the British appeared soon afterward in Virginia Mr. Monroe exerted himself in organizing the militia of the lower counties, and when the enemy proceeded southward, Governor Jefferson sent him as military commissioner to the army in South Carolina.

Called Into the Forum of Statesmanship

At the age of 23 years Mr. Monroe was called to another field of service. He was elected to the assembly of Virginia from the County of King George, and notwithstanding his youth was made a member of the executive council in 1782. The next year he was elected a delegate to congress for three years, taking his seat Dec. 13, 1783. Convinced that it was impossible to govern the country under the old articles of confederation, he advocated an extension of the powers of congress, and in 1785 moved to invest that body with the authority to regulate trade between the states. The resolution was referred to a committee of which he was chairman, and a report was made in favor of the measure. This led to the convention at Annapolis and the subsequent adoption of the federal constitution. It is upon this provision of the constitution that the interstate commerce law is predicated, and upon which the President in 1833 invoked the power of the federal courts and troops to suppress the disorders incident to the American Railway Union strike in this city.

Monroe also exerted himself in devising a system for the settlement of the public lands, and was appointed a member of the commission to decide upon the boundary between Massachusetts and New York. He strongly opposed the relinquishment of the right to navigate the Mississippi River, on the demand of Spain, and participated actively in the discussion of all the leading questions before the body of which he was a youthful but conspicuous member.

At the conclusion of his term, and being ineligible for re-election for a period of three years, Mr. Monroe settled in Fredericksburg, Va., from which constituency he was re-elected to the general assembly in 1787; in 1788 he was chosen a delegate to the Virginia convention to decide upon the adoption of the federal constitution, and was one of the minority who opposed the instrument as submitted, being apprehensive that without amendment it would confer too much power upon the general government. The course of the minority in the convention was approved by the great mass of the people of Virginia, and Monroe was elected United States senator in 1790.

Work in a Broader Field.

In that body he became a prominent representative of the antifederal party, and acted with it through all his official life. In May, 1791, his senatorial term having expired, he

received the appointment of minister plenipotentiary to France, and was received in Paris with marked evidence of distinction and respect. But his undisguised exhibition of sympathy with the French republic displeased the administration.

John Jay was at the time in England negotiating a treaty, and the course pursued by Monroe interfered with his enterprise, and was therefore considered injudicious and reprehensible. On the conclusion of the treaty his alleged failure to present it in its true character to the French government excited anew the displeasure of the cabinet, and in August, 1796, he was recalled under an informal censure. On his return to America he published a "View of the Conduct of the Executive in the Foreign Affairs of the United States," which evidenced the breach between him and the administration, but the personal relations between him and Washington and Jay were always cordial.

In 1799 he became Governor of Virginia and served until 1802, when he was appointed envoy extraordinary to the French government to negotiate, in connection with the resident minister, Mr. Livingston, for the purchase of Louisiana, or a right of depot for the United States on the Mississippi. Within a fortnight after his arrival in Paris the ministers secured for the consideration of \$15,000,000 the entire "territory of Orleans" and "district of Louisiana."

In the same year he was commissioned minister plenipotentiary to England, and endeavored to conclude a convention for the protection of neutral rights and against the impressment of seamen. In the midst of these negotiations he was directed to proceed to Madrid as minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary to adjust the controversy between the United States and Spain in relation to the boundaries of the new purchase of Louisiana. In this he failed, and in 1806 was recalled to England to act with Mr. Pinckney in further negotiations for the protection of neutral rights. On the last day of that year a treaty was concluded, but on account of the omission of any provision against the impressment of seamen and its ambiguity in relation to other vital points the President sent it back for revision.

Returns to America After a Failure.

All efforts to effect the changes failed, and Monroe returned to America. As the time was approaching for the election of a President a considerable body of the republicans brought Monroe's name forward, but the preference of Jefferson for Madison was well known. This led to a correspondence on the subject between the President and Mr. Monroe, who interpreted the preference as the result of feeling over the failure of the English treaty. Jefferson convinced him, however, that he was influenced by no other consideration than party interests, and that he preferred Madison only because the vast majority of the antifederalists were of the same mind. Thereupon Monroe withdrew from the contest, and in 1800 he was again elected to the general assembly of Virginia, the following year was re-elected to the office of governor, and immediately after was appointed secretary of state in the cabinet of President Madison.

After the capture of Washington, in 1814, the functions of the war department were added to his duties. The treasury was exhausted and the public credit at its lowest ebb, but he set about the task of infusing order and efficiency into the departments under his charge, proposed an increase of the army to the extent of 40,000 men, and recommended conscriptions to accomplish the result. In order that the defenses at New Orleans might be made more secure he pledged his private means as subsidiary to the credit of the government, which enabled the city to successfully oppose the forces of the enemy. He became the confidential adviser of President Madison in the measures for the re-establishment of the public credit and the regulation of the foreign relations of the United States, and continued to serve as secretary of state until the close of the administration, in 1817, when he succeeded to the presidency by an electoral vote of 183 out of a total of 217, as the candidate of the democratic party.

Soon after his inauguration President Monroe made a tour through the middle and eastern states, during which he thoroughly inspected the arsenals, naval depots, fortifications and garrisons, reviewed military companies, corrected public abuses, and studied the capabilities of the country with reference to future hostilities. On this tour he wore the undress uniform of a continental officer. From every point of view the journey was auspicious. Party lines seemed about to disappear and the country to return to its past state of union and fraternity. The President was free in his assurances of a strong desire on his part that such should be the case; the course of the administration was in conformity with the assurances and received the support of an overwhelming majority of the people. Most of the President's recommendations were approved by congress, and what

has since been known as "the era of good feeling" set in.

Among the important events of this period were the admission into the union of the states of Mississippi, Illinois and Maine. In 1818 a treaty was concluded between the United States and Great Britain in relation to the Newfoundland fisheries, the restoration of slaves and other subjects; and in 1819 Spain ceded to the United States her possessions in east and west Florida, with the adjacent islands. In 1820 Monroe was re-elected President by the unprecedented majority of 231 out of 232 electoral votes.

In 1821 Missouri was admitted to the union on the famous compromise, which prohibited slavery north of the parallel of 36 degrees and 30 minutes. In 1822 the independence of Mexico was recognized, and the international policy over which the present contention between England and the United States is predicated was promulgated in his message of Dec. 2, 1823, and has ever since been known as the "Monroe doctrine."

On March 4, 1825, James Monroe retired from office and returned to his residence at Oak Hill, Loudoun County, Virginia, where he was soon after chosen a justice of the peace, and, as such, sat in the county court. In 1829 he became a member of the convention to revise the constitution of Virginia, and presided over the deliberations of that body until the impairment of his health compelled him to

resign his seat in the convention and return to his home. Pecuniary embarrassment supplemented bodily infirmity at this period of his life, and in his old age he was greatly harassed by debt. His wife died in 1830, and in the summer of that year he took up his residence with his son-in-law, Samuel L. Gouverneur, in New York City, where he died July 4, 1831. In 1853 his remains were removed with great pomp to Richmond, Va., and reinterred in the Hollywood cemetery there on July 5.

He Was Able, Honest and Patriotic.

James Monroe held the reins of government at an important period, and administered it with discretion, ability and patriotism. He went further than any of his predecessors in developing the resources of the country, and seems to have had a better conception of the future than any of his contemporaries. This fact is proved alike in his promulgation of the two important ideas referred to in this sketch, the invest-

ment in congress of the right to regulate commerce between the states and the so-called "Monroe doctrine," now under consideration everywhere. He encouraged the army, increased the navy, improved the national defenses, protected commerce and infused vigor and efficiency into every department of the public service. His honesty, good faith and simplicity were universally acknowledged and disarmed the political rancor of his strongest opponents. He was not an orator, an essential element to success in public life at that time, but he made up for this lack by the sincerity of his nature and the charming simplicity of his manner. In person he was tall and graceful, with a light complexion and kindly blue eyes.

SCOPE OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

Origin and Impartial Interpretation of the Famous American Idea.

[From The Times-Herald of Oct. 13, 1895—Republished in response to numerous requests.]

A phrase that is much on the lips of men

in these days, and is glibly used in all the newspapers, is "The Monroe Doctrine." One would think there was something cabalistic about it, so misty and even mysterious is the way in which the phrase is used. It is popularly supposed to relate in a peculiar way to the South American states and to denote a guardianship, that in some way has been devolved upon the United States with respect to that portion of the western continent.

"What is this blessed Monroe doctrine?" cries out the Westminster Gazette last week, with a sneer. The question from that source was a jibe, but, nevertheless, there is room for information all around. There are even Americans, humiliating as the confession must be, who do not understand or who wilfully miscomprehend it. I propose to impartially relate its history.

In 1822 and prior to that time both Russia and Great Britain claimed that the north-

western coast of American, that which is now known as British Columbia and our own states of Washington and Oregon, was still open to colonization and settlement by European powers.

Origin of the Monroe Doctrine.

John Quincy Adams was secretary of state under Monroe, and in his diary under date of July 17, 1823, he notes an interview between himself and Baron Toul, the Russian minister. "I told him specially that we should contest the right of Russia to any territorial establishment on this continent, and that we should assume distinctly the principle that the American continents are no longer subjects for any new European colonial establishments."

In that sentence lies the germ of one branch of the Monroe doctrine. This nation would not recognize the right of European nations to plant colonies and establish authority over any portion of the western hemisphere, as they had done in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Shortly after this the Russian emperor, Alexander I., substantially acknowledged our contention by making no more pretension to press his possessions southward from what was then known as Russian America, and is now known as Alaska.

In the southern hemisphere the case was different. In Mexico and throughout South America the Spanish colonies had revolted and established republican governments.

The United States had acknowledged their independence, but Spain was still making an effort to reconquer them. In 1822 she hoped by the aid of the holy alliance, a federation composed of France, Prussia, Austria and Russia, to win back her colonies, and made every effort to gain the alliance to her cause. Nor were the allies unwilling. At this juncture George Canning, the British foreign secretary—who never loved the United States—suggested to Mr. Rush, the American minister at London, that Great Britain would co-operate with the United States in resisting the resubjugation of the Spanish-American colonies. Nothing came of this, but it gave rise to the opinion that Canning was really the "inventor, promoter and champion" of the Monroe doctrine. Charles Sumner in his "Prophetic Voices of America" so declares.

The situation when President Monroe sent his message to congress in December, 1823, was this: Spain was seeking to enlist the aid of the European powers to recover her lost possessions in South America, and Russia was claiming the right to extend her colonization schemes southward on the Pacific coast from the region on the north.

In respect to Spain and the allied powers Monroe said, after stating the general situation and the difference of their political systems:

We see, it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

This doctrine, so stated, has received the indorsement of every American statesman from that day to the present time. We do not propose to suffer any European government to overturn the government of any South American state, or to establish a new government on its ruins. Daniel Webster, speaking on the subject a few years later, said: "Sir, I look on the message of December, 1823, as forming a bright page in our history. I will help neither to erase it nor tear it out; nor shall it be by any act of mine blurred or blotted. It did honor to the sagacity of the government, and I will not diminish that honor. It elevated the hopes and gratified the patriotism of the people. Over those hopes I will not bring a mildew, nor will I put that gratified patriotism to shame."

Has Never Been Dissented From.

This phase of the Monroe doctrine has never been questioned by an American writer on international law, or any American statesman.

Jefferson, with whom Monroe had consulted warmly, approved of it. In writing to Monroe, he said:

Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to meddle in cisatlantic affairs. America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have a system of her own, separate and apart from those of Europe. While the last is laboring to become the domicile of despotism, our endeavor should surely be to make our hemisphere that of freedom.

While congress has never given formal indorsement to this doctrine, there is no doubt but that it is now considered a settled part of the policy of this country. An illustration of it occurred in 1861. In that year Napoleon III. landed a French army in Mexico, ostensibly to protect French interests, overthrew the Mexican army and government, submitted the question of the establishment of an empire to the Mexican people, which, under the influence of French bayonets, was carried, and Maximilian was placed on the throne.

We were in the midst of the civil war, but Secretary Seward notified the French government that such a proceeding must lead to war between France and the United States. The French minister intimated somewhat reluctantly that if war must be the result his government would naturally select their own time to commence hostilities, which would be the present, while the United States was burdened with domestic difficulties. Under the circumstances our government was bound to temporize, but just as soon as our war was over a portion of our army was moved to the Texan frontier, the French army was withdrawn and Maximilian fell.

Such was a correct application of the Monroe doctrine as it has been understood and received by all American statesmen.

The mere announcement of this doctrine by Monroe foiled the holy alliance and stopped all action looking toward European interposition in South America, and the result was the establishment of independence by the South American states and their recognition by the whole world.

In the same message of December, 1823, was embodied the statement which had been

made by Secretary Adams to the Russian minister in respect to the territory on the northwest coast of America. It read as follows:

The occasion has been judged proper for asserting as a principle, in which the rights and principles of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power.

This declaration, as we have seen, was first made by John Quincy Adams to Baron Tustl. The Emperor of Russia had made claim to all the territory on the northwest coast of America as far south as latitude 51. Great Britain claimed a portion of the same territory, and in an indefinite way the United States had considered our northern boundary line to extend to latitude 54 degrees 40 minutes. It will be remembered how in 1845 we receded from this extravagant pretension and accepted the parallel of 49 degrees as our northern boundary, showing that we did recognize the right of other governments to acquire territory on this continent, and even some that we supposed ourselves entitled to.

How then did Adams and Monroe understand this broad statement in the message, and how has it been understood by our leading American statesmen since its announcement?

The Panama Mission.

John Quincy Adams succeeded Monroe in the presidency and Henry Clay became his secretary of state. In a special message to congress on Dec. 26, 1823, Mr. Adams announced that the Spanish-American republics has resolved upon a congress to meet on the Isthmus of Panama, in which they should all be represented; that they had invited the United States to send plenipotentiaries, and that the invitation had been accepted. In the course of his message President Adams quoted from Monroe's message of 1823, the policy that had been then declared, and explained it. In speaking of the objects of the Panama conference, he said:

An agreement between the parties represented at the meeting that each will guard, by its own means, against the establishment of any future European colony within its borders, may be found advisable. This was more than two years since announced by my predecessor to the world as a principle resulting from the emancipation of both American continents.

Such was the "doctrine" as contained by the statesman that first declared it. His nation was to "guard by its own means against the establishment of any future European colony within its borders."

President Adams never dreamed that the United States assumed a guarantee over the other American states. We proposed to guard against any colonization of our territory, and it was hoped that the South American states would do the same. President Adams' advocacy of the Panama congress rested on that ground, and that it would result in the adoption of such a policy by all the American states.

In the debate that followed as to the expediency of sending representatives to Panama the whole subject of the relation of the United States to the South American states was discussed, both in the senate and the house. But not even the strongest advocates of the mission hinted at the idea that the United States would under any circumstances exercise guardianship over the Central and South American republics, or in any way protect them.

Although in the outcome representatives to Panama were appointed by our government, the conference itself proved to be a failure. But what the whole historical passage is notable for is the exposition of the "Monroe doctrine" by John Quincy Adams, its undoubted author, to the effect that European exclusion from the western hemisphere was to be the work, not of the United States solely, as champion of the two Americas, but of each American republic primarily, as policy might dictate.

Later Views and Illustrations.

It has already been intimated that when the question arose between this country and Great Britain as to the very territory concerning which the original utterance had been, that the United States recoiled from its contention, and, instead of insisting on "54 40 or fight," which had been a campaign cry in the presidential election of 1844, accepted the parallel of 49 for the Oregon boundary, thus giving up the whole of what is now British Columbia.

In 1848 a revolution occurred in Yucatan, and the white government of that country offered to cede its dominion to Great Britain, Spain or the United States. President Polk made this offer the subject of a message to congress, in which he urged that such measures should be passed as would prevent it from becoming a colony of any European power, which he said would be in contravention of the Monroe doctrine. But John C. Calhoun, who had been a member of Monroe's cabinet at the time the doctrine was announced, and had taken part in the cabinet discussions of the subject, rose in his place in the senate and opposed any action on the part of the United States. In the course of his argument he proved that the

Yucatan case did not come within the terms of any part of Monroe's message, and that under the circumstances Yucatan might be acquired by any European power. President Woolsey, in his able work on international law, indorses Calhoun's position on this subject, and says "to lay down the principle that the acquisition of territory on this continent by any European power cannot be allowed by the United States would go far beyond any measures dictated by the system of the balance of power, for the rule of self-preservation is not applicable in our case."

Senator Cass' Interpretation.

Senator Cass, who certainly was never accused of any lack of strong American feeling, in a speech delivered in the senate in January, 1856, said, referring to the Monroe doctrine:

To colonization by purchase, treaty or lawful conquest the Monroe declaration was not intended to apply, however it may have come to be considered in these latter days. * * * To suppose that this declaration was intended as a promise, pledge or engagement that the United States would guard from European encroachment the territory of the whole boundless continent is greatly to misconceive the purpose of its promulgator, and to misconstrue the explicit interpretation published to the world by its author, Mr. Adams. Yet, had this interpretation been couched in the most ambiguous terms it could hardly have been more misunderstood than it would seem to be at the present day.

Congress has never adopted any resolution on the subject of the Monroe doctrine in either of its phases, though it has twice refused to adopt resolutions that tended to give it support.

The more recent constructions given it by newspaper writers mainly, but not by statesmen, have no foundation in history. They are in effect new enunciations of policy, which may or may not be adopted by congress or by the executive. But they are not Monroe's doctrine.

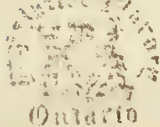
Of course no European government has ever recognized the doctrine in any of its aspects. As Lord Clarendon politely said to Buchanan, when the latter was minister at the court of St. James: "The Monroe doctrine is merely the dictum of its distinguished author."

JOHN N. CRAWFORD.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

WE OWE IT, THEREFORE, TO CANDOR AND TO THE AMICABLE RELATIONS EXISTING BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE ALLIED POWERS TO DECLARE THAT WE SHOULD CONSIDER ANY ATTEMPT ON THEIR PART TO EXTEND THEIR SYSTEM TO ANY PORTION OF THIS HEMISPHERE AS DANGEROUS TO OUR PEACE AND SAFETY. WITH THE EXISTING COLONIES OR DEPENDENCIES OF ANY EUROPEAN POWER WE HAVE NOT INTERFERED AND SHALL NOT INTERFERE, BUT WITH THE GOVERNMENTS WHO HAVE DECLARED THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND MAINTAINED IT, AND WHOSE INDEPENDENCE WE HAVE, ON GREAT CONSIDERATION AND JUST PRINCIPLES, ACKNOWLEDGED, WE COULD NOT VIEW AN INTERPOSITION FOR THE PURPOSE OF OPPRESSING THEM OR CONTROLLING IN ANY OTHER MANNER THEIR DESTINY [BY ANY EUROPEAN POWER] IN ANY OTHER LIGHT THAN AS A MANIFESTATION OF AN UNFRIENDLY DISPOSITION TOWARD THE UNITED STATES.—*From Monroe's Message to Congress in December, 1823.*





27

THE CHICAGO TIMES-HERALD.

- 22nd Decr. 1895 -

VON HOLST TALKS.

Distinguished Professor Analyzes
the President's Message.

NOT MONROE DOCTRINE.

Says Cleveland and Olney Have
Set Up a Bogus Policy.

DEAN JUDSON'S VIEWS DIFFER.

He Declares It Is This Country's Duty
to Defend the Weaker Repub-
lics From Aggression.

"Great Britain was the originator of the Monroe doctrine." That is the startling statement of Dr. H. von Holst in an interview on the Venezuelan question with a representative of THE TIMES-HERALD. The doctor asserts that Great Britain arrayed itself on the side of the Spanish colonies in 1822 through self-interest and virtually declared for the principle of the Monroe doctrine before the President of the United States gave formal expression to it.

Dr. von Holst also declares he is heartily in favor of the Monroe doctrine as "the justified policy of the United States." He would fight to uphold it, and he would fight to maintain the honor of the nation even if the Monroe doctrine were not at stake. He does not believe, however, that either the Monroe doctrine or the honor of the United States was involved in the Venezuelan question. He holds, therefore, that the policy of President Cleveland in this matter is unjustified, but

while he earnestly criticises that policy, he does not wish it understood he is attacking the motives of the President or his advisers. When asked for his definition of the Monroe doctrine Dr. von Holst said:

"In the Tribune interview I am made to say that the Monroe doctrine has to do with colonizing, extending power; that it contemplates aggressive measures on the part of Great Britain. Now that is a great historical blunder, because the Monroe doctrine was proclaimed in accord with Great Britain. It would not be altogether incorrect to say that Great Britain—that is to say George Canning—is the original author of the Monroe doctrine, in a sense.

Legitimacy of the Singular.

This was at the time when the holy alliance was aiming, in the interest of Spain, to extend to the western hemisphere its leading principle, which was quaintly but correctly characterized by the Italian Botta as 'the legitimacy of the singular'; when the powers of the holy alliance were working, at least so far as moral support went, for the resubjugation of the Spanish colonies in America."

"That was about when, doctor?"

"That was in the first twenties. From 1820 to 1823, we might say. The thing goes further back here. The decisive move by England was made in 1822, and it went up into 1823, and in 1823 the so-called Monroe doctrine was proclaimed."

"What do you mean by the decisive move of Great Britain?"

"The decisive move by Great Britain was the formal acknowledgement of the independence of the former Spanish colonies. When Great Britain had formally acknowledged them George Canning exclaimed 'A new order of centuries arises on the strength of this.' That was the situation of the world when England and the United States joined against the continental powers of Europe, the powers standing upon the basis of this 'legitimacy of the singular,' that is to say, that the crowned heads have all the rights and the people none. The crowned heads had to stand up solidarily for enforcing this principle not only in Europe but everywhere. So there came up this question of the Spanish colonies in America, and there America and Great Britain locked arms and told the holy alliance on the water's edge: 'Thus far and no farther. Beyond the ocean your principles do not hold good.'"

Don't forget to write to me

Fruit of England's Declaration.

"Do you mean that Great Britain as a government took formal action?"

"Formal action, under the direction of George Canning."

"What was that action?"

"This action was, as I said, the formal acknowledgement of the independence of those Spanish colonies."

"In that acknowledgement was there a declaration parallel to the Monroe doctrine?"

"No, but the doctrine is the direct fruit of that declaration."

"But that recognition by Great Britain was in 1822."

"Yes, but this whole question went on through a considerable number of years. It commenced in 1815 to 1817; came up again at the congress of Aix-La-Chapelle; then again it was in the later conference of 1879. It came up again and again in all sorts of different ways, at first under the direction of George Canning as far as Great Britain was concerned."

"To what do you refer when you say 'it' came up?"

"This question as to the relation of the Spanish colonies to Spain, on the basis of the underlying principle of the holy alliance. Great Britain was gradually drifting away more and more from the holy alliance, while the holy alliance on the other hand emphasized its principle of the legitimacy of the singular more and more, finally in Spain herself for the benefit of Ferdinand VII. against the Spanish revolution. Then ultimately this question of principle was clinched on the one side by the United States and Great Britain acting in harmony, and the continental powers on the other hand led as to the question of principle by Russia, while the armed interference in Spain had been undertaken by France. But Russia was a pushing element as to this principle, and ever since the days of the congress of Aix-La-Chapelle it has urged on the other powers to intervene in behalf of Spain in regard to these American questions, at least so far as moral support went."

Brought to a Climax.

"Now, it would require a book to write all these matters of history, because it was a long, protracted struggle, extending over a number of years. But it was brought to a climax on the part of Great Britain by the formal recognition of the independence of the Spanish colonies, and on the part of the United States partly, also, by the same recognition and partly by the proclamation of the Monroe doctrine. But the point of the Monroe doctrine is turned directly against the holy alliance and its principles, and not against Great Britain. Great Britain was, so to speak, when the Monroe doctrine came into existence, the shield holder of the United States, and acted in accord with her."

"Then, doctor, does it follow that Great Britain has violated, in connection with the

Venezuelan matter, the principle to which it gave its adherence in 1822?"

"Not at all, because I absolutely deny that the Monroe doctrine is in the very least involved in this question. That is exactly my contention."

"Why so?"

"Because it is not. The Monroe doctrine refers only to the extension of the European system by the force of arms, and here there is absolutely no question at all about the extension of the European system—that is to say, the monarchical system, by force of arms. It is simply a dispute about a boundary line, and nothing more."

"Suppose, as a matter of fact, that Great Britain is mistaken about this boundary line—that she is claiming more than she is entitled to?"

"That would not bring in the Monroe doctrine."

"Suppose Great Britain then uses force of arms to hold that territory as against Venezuela. Would that involve the Monroe doctrine?"

Disputed Oregon Question.

"No, that would not involve the Monroe doctrine either. It would involve the Monroe doctrine just as little as did the disputed Oregon question, when there was also a great uproar and talk in this country of '54:40 or fight.' Of course, if the United States thinks it is of sufficient importance for its interest to go to war about this question it can do so. There is nothing in international law against this, because the power of war is always there. Nobody can gainsay the right of the United States if it cares to knock the English on the head, because they have so many people who have red hair. If you will permit me to put it in such a vulgar way. A sovereign nation can go to war about anything if it is to its interest, but it is not the Monroe doctrine that is involved."

"Now let us, for instance, suppose that some great commercial questions were involved. Suppose the South American states make an agreement with the European states. Vital interests of ours are involved there, and suppose we could not defend them or set things to rights without risk of war. Such war has been agitated more than once. Of course, it will be our right, because the right of going to blows can never be denied to any nation."

"You think, then, we have no interest involved in the Venezuelan question?"

"A very small one, a minute interest, in my opinion."

The President's Mistake.

"Then where is the President's mistake?"

"The President's mistake is in this: First, that he declares the Monroe doctrine involved, which is not involved, which cannot be involved simply in a boundary dispute; and the second mistake is, in my opinion, that he wants to settle this question in a way to which no self-respecting and independent nation ever will, ever can, ever ought to submit. As I said in the interview with the Evening Post reporter, it is exactly the same system that Eugene Debs and the American Railway Union adopted in regard to Pullman. They said arbitration is a good thing, we want you to arbitrate. Pullman said: 'There is nothing to arbitrate; I don't arbitrate.' Then Eugene V. Debs and his men said: 'We will knock you on the head and settle this question ourselves. Arbitration is right and you must arbitrate.' That is what the President's message declares we shall do with England."

1872

"Suppose England should move over its boundary line into the middle of Venezuela, claim that is the real boundary line and undertake to hold it as against Venezuela. Would that involve the Monroe doctrine?"

"No, it would not involve the Monroe doctrine, but that might involve the Interests of the United States to such an extent that they would say: 'We will go to war about it.' That is quite a different question."

"Under what conditions could Great Britain take the territory of Venezuela and involve the Monroe doctrine?"

Clear Case of Monroe Doctrine.

"Under no conditions whatever, unless it simply grabbed the whole of Venezuela, or unless it did what France did in regard to Mexico. There was a perfectly clear case of the Monroe doctrine. France sent over an army with an Austrian prince, and said: 'We will make a monarchy under this man.' There was an attempt to plant by force the European system of monarchy upon an American republic's soil. That was as clear a case of the Monroe doctrine as there could be, and that is the only one that there has been thus far."

"Will you indicate more clearly the distinction you make between a violation of the Monroe doctrine and a case that is not a violation?"

"In the Maximilian case in Mexico there was a forcible attempt to transplant a monarchical system upon an unwilling American republic. As to Venezuela, it is nothing but a dispute about the extent of a boundary, about the running of a boundary line. We ourselves have had several such disputes and infinitely graver ones with Great Britain, and never pretended that the Monroe doctrine was involved in the least, settling every one of them in an amicable way."

"Suppose, as a matter of fact, the boundary line does not extend as far into Venezuelan territory as Great Britain claims, and there are Venezuelans living in that territory who are unwilling to have that line changed."

Settled by the English.

"The fact is, as to the territory about which Great Britain refused arbitration, that it is settled, and was settled a long, long time ago by English subjects, and never has been settled by Venezuelans or by the Spanish. That is the fact. We have shown ourselves what we would do in such a case in our contention with Mexico about Texas. That is one of the decisive reasons why England never can submit this part of the question to arbitration. It cannot leave to the United States, or to any one else, the right to assign some 40,000 English inhabitants who have lived there ever so long to Venezuela. As to the rest, England has long ago declared, and now again declares her willingness to have the question arbitrated."

"Then, doctor, do you wish to be understood as making this distinction; that in the case of Mexico the whole country was involved, while in the case of Venezuela it is merely a boundary line which involves only part of Venezuela?"

"Not only that. That is one of the distinctions. But the main distinction is this, that in Mexico the forcible change of the form of government was involved, and that is not the case here."

"Well, suppose this territory in dispute had been thickly populated by Venezuelans. Would that alter the case?"

"It might to a certain extent. But what right have we to make all sorts of suppositions? We have to take the facts as they are. This dispute is much older than the state of Venezuela, very much older. England held this country, and the dispute was going on long before the name of Venezuela was ever known. Besides, the facts as to all the main elements have been exactly the same for over fifty years, and there has never before been an American administration that has felt we must choose between driving out England, or, as the President says, 'Supineness and sacrificing our honor, etc.' Why have all our Presidents for over fifty years deemed it perfectly compatible with the honor of the nation, and the whole nation has considered it perfectly compatible with its honor, to let the question go on and be settled finally in some way or other, as all such disputes are settled? Now, all of a sudden we are confronted with the alternative of being chargeable with supineness and dishonor, or telling the English, 'Unless you submit absolutely to our behests we are going to knock you on the head.'"

No Appeal From Venezuela.

"Has there been an appeal by Venezuela to the United States in the past for interference?"

"There has not been any now. And even if there were that would, according to all international law, give the United States only the right to offer its good offices."

"Suppose we as a nation use our power to carry out an American policy."

"Excuse me, in my mind this word American policy has no meaning. That is absolutely vague, although I know it is constantly used."

"Call it an American policy or the Cleveland policy?"

"Ah, well, there we come, of course, as I have said before, to Mr. Cleveland's doctrine. But don't let us call it the Monroe doctrine. That is a different thing. That is an absolutely different thing. Don't call a coon a bear. You understand, I don't mean any insult by that, but I say, as a matter of fact, we are flying a false flag by saying this is the Monroe doctrine. It is not. And if we come to the question of policy, I for one declare very decidedly that in my opinion it would be midsummer madness for us to go to war about such a question as this, because it is absolutely indifferent to us whether England has twenty or thirty thousand acres more of this arid land, whether there is some gold in it or not. I cannot help saying, in my candid opinion again, without meaning offense, that what Mr. Olney says in his dispatch about the American states being in danger on account of this thing is mere buncombe, and if the American people subscribe to that they give themselves a terrible testimony."

"How does it happen that we are in danger and that at the same time our flat is law over the whole continent? I cannot understand how the two can be true. It is

a terrible thing to stand against—that we shall be on this continent sovereign and our fiat be law. That puts upon us the fearfully unbearable responsibility of whatever is going on in Central and South America, and I for one, as an American citizen, am unwilling to assume this responsibility, even if it were offered to me on a silver platter. I say now, we have enough for ourselves to do, and our destiny is amply big enough in our boundaries. But even if we wished to be sovereign on this continent, it is clear that the rest of the world cannot consent to such a thing. Eventually, if we have a war and smash them all to pieces, we can force them into it involuntarily. That means simply that as to all American questions the South American republics shall formally renounce being independent states; that, as yesterday THE TIMES-HERALD put it, in a brief leading article: 'We do not accept international law; we make international law for the American continent.' You cannot. That is a contradiction in terms. You cannot make an international law. You can if you are strong enough to whip the whole world into something, as the first Napoleon whipped most of Europe—for a while—into certain things, but you cannot make international law, because that means by force of the term a law that is set up as a rule of action by voluntary agreement between the independent nations, but not by one standing up and saying: 'I demand, and if you do not bow to it I will smash you.'

"Well, doctor, do you wish to be understood as not being in favor of the Monroe doctrine?"

"Entirely in favor of it. But of the Monroe doctrine, not of the Cleveland-Olney doctrine. And that is not merely my opinion of to-day. If you will go to my students you will find I have more than once had occasion to argue with them about the Maximilian question, and they can tell you how entirely and absolutely I approve of the course of Lincoln and Seward. That was Monroe doctrine, yes, and I approved of it entirely, although then there was no international law about it. It was merely a question of American policy, which we had, in my opinion, a right to uphold."

"Your contention, then, is not based on the mere difference in terms?"

"No."

Accepts One; Repudiates One.

"One is the Monroe doctrine, and one that enunciated by President Cleveland?"

"Yes, that is it. The American policy based upon the genuine Monroe doctrine has no more willing and earnest supporter than myself, not as a part of international law, but as the justified policy of the United States of America. The other I repudiate, because it offers to us under a false name something pretending to be what it is not, and because it is a policy which I consider not only as ruinous to international law, but as ruinous eventually to the true interests of the United States, of the whole of the American continent, and of the whole of the civilized world."

"Do you think the United States should assume the responsibility of making the Monroe doctrine effective?"

"It is effective. It needs absolutely nothing, in my opinion."

"It was not effective at the time France tried to set Maximilian on the throne in Mexico."

"For the very reason that we were then in a most critical situation here. Such things can always happen, and you can never prevent them. If we should have a civil war again to-day of such proportions as we had from 1861 to 1865, and there was again in France an emperor instead of a republic, this thing would repeat itself in one form or another fifty times, although you had five hundred times the Monroe doctrine on the statute book."

"Your explanation tends to show that it is the menace of the United States which makes the doctrine effective."

"Yes, on the one hand; but not only that. All of Europe practically for a long time has acknowledged as a correct and justifiable political principle this genuine Monroe doctrine, although they will never consent to having it engrafted upon the code of international law. But in substance they are not against it."

They favor it."

"Suppose Great Britain should attempt to seize Venezuela by force of arms, what would make the Monroe doctrine effective?"

"As I said before, what right have we to start such suppositions for which there is absolutely no foundation? If this question turns up it will become again a question for us to decide. Now, another thing might happen. Venezuela and Great Britain might come to war and Venezuela might be willing to gain peace by ceding certain territory. Would we have a right to declare to Venezuela, 'You dare not do that; we forbid it?' And here comes in one point which the South and Central American republics will yet learn to understand. The claim set up by our executive establishes a dictatorship, so far as the American continent is concerned, not only in regard to the European powers, but just the same in regard to all the American states. As to all of them this claim, as set up, lays down what Olney has declared, 'Our fiat is the law to the whole continent.' We deprive them of their national rights; of their independence. Venezuela might now be very glad of it, but will she stay so?"

"Suppose the invasion of Venezuela were a menace to the United States, what would be the proper course for President Cleveland to pursue, in your opinion?"

"If it were a menace and were serious enough to justify it, the proper course would be to go to war, as every other state has to do, not only for its honor, but also for vital interests. Perhaps ages are in store for mankind when war will be absolutely abolished. I do not see those times as long as circumstances are as they are now. It is not our honor now, but our pride which is involved to a certain extent by the false moves of our executive government."

"Apparently you evade the question as to whether, in your opinion, the United States should enforce the Monroe doctrine if a European power attempted to violate it."

Word Was Once Sufficient.

"I do not evade this question; I have answered it. One such case was reported, and then the United States did interfere. It was sufficient to interpose their word, and if that had not been sufficient, I for one, would have thought the proper thing to do was to mobilize the troops, as Lincoln and Seward were prepared to do. But it is not necessary now, and will become less necessary every year, because on the one hand the United States will grow stronger, so that their mere word will have greater weight,



and, on the other hand, the European powers will become ever more conscious that the true Monroe doctrine does not run counter to their interests, while it is entirely the policy of the United States."

"Now, doctor, do you wish to make any statement explaining that your criticism is directed toward President Cleveland's policy, and not toward him personally?"

"Yes. I am quoted in a morning paper as using the words, 'A public disgrace and presumptuous impudence.' Such words have not been used by me. I did use the word 'calamity.' I do consider it a great calamity, but I have used no term which could be construed as personally offensive and insulting. My criticism is directed wholly against the thing and not against the person."

"An ex-member of the cabinet is reported as having written to Senator Voorhees, saying that in 1881, when he had to give an opinion about the Panama question, he found somewhere a formal acknowledgement of the Monroe doctrine by Great Britain. It will be very interesting to look up that instance; to find that Great Britain has not always been against it. Now, as I have told you, Great Britain is the originator of this doctrine, not out of friendliness for democratic institutions or for the United States, but because her interests at the time in Europe required this policy of her going hand in hand with the United States against the madly aggressive policy of the holy alliance, based upon a principle which even in Russia found no person to justify it."

Approves Cleveland's Position.

Professor Harry Pratt Judson, dean of the faculty of the University of Chicago, warmly supports the policy of President Cleveland in the Venezuelan matter. He admits the Monroe doctrine is not a part of international law, but he argues it is a part of the traditional foreign policy of the United States, and as fully justified as the European doctrine of the balance of power. When asked for an expression on the President's position, he said:

"I cordially approve President Cleveland's message in reference to the Venezuela question. I do not regard the Monroe doctrine as among the canons of international law, but that does not seem to me a material question. The doctrine is a part of the traditional foreign policy of the United States, and is quite on a par with the European doctrine of the balance of power. The President's interpretation of the Monroe doctrine seems to me entirely logical and reasonable. It is contrary to our interests for any European power to extend its territorial possessions on this continent. The way in which England has dealt with the disputed territory between Guiana and Venezuela amounts, it seems to me, to the extension of her territory by her superior force. And to such aggressive action on the part of any European nation I think we should oppose all resistance in our power."

"The Monroe doctrine implies that the United States must not let the weaker nations of America suffer seizure at the hands of European nations. If there were two or three first-class powers in the America they might combine for the enforcement of the principle of the Monroe doctrine, but as we are the only first-class power on this side of the Atlantic it is our duty and interest to guard the weaker republics from oppression

and aggression of a specific kind. There are two things we should not permit. We should not permit Europeans to overturn American governments or to seize American territory. It is questionable if we should even permit European powers to take possession of American territory by peaceable acquisition. During the administrations of Pierce and Buchanan, when the purchase of Cuba was agitated, representatives of this country took the position that the United States should not permit any European power to take it if Spain undertook to sell or cede it. That principle was laid down in the Ostend manifesto."

OLNEY'S SIDE OF IT

State Secretary's Bold Exposition
of Monroe Doctrine.

REPLY TO DR. VON HOLST.

Necessity of American Control in
the Western World.

GREAT PRINCIPLES AT STAKE.

Safety Line Should Be Marked Out
Over Which No European
Power Must Step.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21.—Secretary Olney was to-day shown a copy of THE SUNDAY TIMES-HERALD, containing a long interview with Professor Von Holst on the Monroe doctrine, and asked if he would not say something in reply.

"I cannot engage in controversy with Professor Von Holst," said Mr. Olney. "All that I have to say, or can say, on this subject has been said in my dispatch. If the professor will read all of my dispatch of last July he will have my views. I am told that my dispatch has not been printed in full in the newspapers. The synopsis which was printed failed to give many important points brought forward by me."

Secretary Olney then gave me an official copy of his dispatch, and pointed out important paragraphs which have not as yet been published, and which contain the best possible answer to Professor Von Holst's contentions. I am thoroughly familiar with Mr. Olney's views on this subject, from his writings and from conversations with him, and with other members of the cabinet, and, in reply to Dr. Von Hohist, I feel authorized to state the case of the administration semi-officially, without committing the secretary of state to the language employed, except where quotation marks are used.

Olney's Central Idea.

The central idea from which Mr. Olney worked in developing his presentation of the case to Great Britain was that there are two great political systems in the world—the European and the American systems. The first comprises Great Britain and all of continental Europe, and, of late, practically all of Asia, Africa and Oceania. The other comprises North and South America and adjacent islands. In the traditions of our government, starting with Washington's farewell address, those systems, as systems, are regarded as separate and distinct. The Monroe doctrine was the definite theory of this separation of the two systems, and Secretary Olney's elucidation of the doctrine was an attempt to show that such separation is justifiable in the true philosophy of modern world government.

Nations, like individuals, come to an understanding with one another for the purpose of maintaining peace and order and friendly relations. There are groups of nations, just as there are groups of individuals, whose interests lie near together, geographically or in kind, and whose relations must of necessity be intimate and complex. The first of these great groups is found in the old world, and there a principle known as "the balance of power" has been called into existence for the purpose of maintaining peace between the nations. They have held conventions, formed treaties and reached understandings innumerable, all for the purpose of repressing trouble. If one nation increases its army or navy the others follow suit. If one is to obtain new territory every other must have a corresponding increase or advantage. The equilibrium of force must be preserved. The union of the powers in support of the principle of equilibrium, of the status quo, is the only guarantee of peace. These great powers not only watch and regulate one another, but they protect the smaller states and the weaker ones. In the higher political sense control must be placed somewhere, and of course it naturally falls into the hands of the strong. The political principle which holds Europe at peace is in the keeping of the great powers. No one of them would be permitted to wage war or make encroachment upon a smaller state for the purpose of making territorial acquisition.

Policy of the Western World.

The same principle pertaining to the relations of nations exists in the western world, in the second group of countries. It has not as yet been as clearly developed here as it has been in the old world, the necessity for it not being so urgent. But it is contended that the time has come when it should be developed, and that is precisely what President Cleveland and Secretary Olney propose to do. The foundation of this principle is that of self-protection, whether in the European or the American group. The difference is that European nations seek protection against the greed or passion of their neighbors, while American nations seek protection against encroachments from the old world. The nations of Europe, in whose hands rests "the balance of power," say to one another: "You shall not by force take Switzerland, or Belgium, or the Netherlands." Their dictum is the great principle which regulates and restrains, which keeps the peace and serves the best aims of human government. In the western group of nations this balance of power rests in the hands of the one nation which has strength to maintain it—in the hands of the United States, which, Secretary Olney says, "is today practically sovereign on these continents, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition."

Uncle Sam's Sway in the West.

The balance of power in this hemisphere, it is held, rests within our hands as naturally and properly as in Europe it lies with Britain, France, Germany and Russia. It is just as much our right and duty to enforce it here as it is their right to enforce it there. In either case it is simply a great principle, the product of perfecting processes in the science of government, which requires the strong to maintain the peace and promote the best interests of civilization.

The Monroe doctrine had its origin in a clear perception on the part of the statesmen of three-quarters of a century ago, that if the American system could not be kept apart and distinct from the European system it would be in constant danger of destruction. "The Monroe doctrine," says Secretary Olney, "did not content itself with formulating a correct rule for the regulation of the relations between Europe and America. It aimed also at securing the practical benefits to result from the rule. It was realized that it was futile to lay down such a rule unless its observance could be enforced. It was manifest that the United States was the only power in this hemisphere capable of enforcing it. It was therefore courageously declared not merely that Europe ought not to interfere in American affairs, but that any European power doing so would be treated as an enemy of the United States, and having the right of the United States."

Answers to Possible Objections.

Doubtless Professor Von Holst will admit all this, but will here interpose the objection that the principle does not apply because Great Britain has not violated it, has not attempted and has no intention of attempting an acquisition which disturbs the balance of power or the distribution of territory. But will not Professor Von Holst also admit that in international as well as national and civil law or social relations certain principles become safeguards of peace and order, and that these are to be rigorously maintained as the only sure way of attaining the end in view? If stealing were permitted in society, providing the value of the goods stolen was not great, there would be continual trouble over classification of thefts. If there were degrees of insult or physical injury, which one individual might with impunity inflict upon another, society would be endlessly disturbed by fracascs. If the powers of Europe were permitted to seize territory from their weak neighbors without fear of the restraining hand of their equals, providing they took only a very little at a time, the mapmakers and diplomatists would be kept busy.

It is the principle of no stealing of the goods of another that gives security to property; the principle of no insult or injury to your fellow that produces orderly society, and it is the principle of no seizure of the territory of the weak that enables Europe to keep the dogs of war in leash. In precisely the same way is it the principle of the Monroe doctrine—European nonintervention in American affairs, western hemisphere balance of power in our hands—that raises the rule "No seizure of territory by force." The rule means none, absolutely none, whether openly and avowedly, whether by pretext or indirection, if against the will of the owner and by means of overpowering him.

Contention of the Professor.

Professor Von Holst's contention, reduced to a few words, is that the Monroe doctrine is not involved at all in Venezuela, because the territory in dispute is not large or important, and because Great Britain has no intention of extending her "system" to Venezuela by force of arms. He therefore says the President and Secretary Olney have made a great mistake. At the same time Professor Von Holst subscribes to the original Monroe doctrine, but repudiates the Olney doctrine. Inasmuch as the original doctrine prohibited all colonization, while the doctrine as modified by Secretary Olney simply prohibits acquisition by force, the wonder is if Professor Von Holst has not made a mistake and inadvertently given his allegiance to the wrong doctrine.

It is not denied by Secretary Olney that Great Britain might seize all the territory in dispute and hold it forevermore without endangering the interests of the United States, so far as that single act is concerned. But if the United States, as "sovereign of this hemisphere" in the higher politics of nations, once admits that force can be legitimately used to take territory from the weaker powers everything is gone. The principle is sterilized. One encroachment, Secretary Olney says, may be followed by another and another greater and greater, until finally every barrier to greed is stricken down and nothing remains but a contest of physical force.

Calhoun's Ancient Argument.

Professor Von Holst advances an argument with some reason behind it when he says every case of European encroachment should be judged on its merits and treated accordingly. Calhoun argued that years ago, and therefore advised against congressional adoption of the very form of the Monroe doctrine to which Professor Von Holst subscribes. In the earlier and ruder periods of civilization it was the custom to seize, steal, insult, injure first and settle afterward the right or wrong of it. That barbaric application of the theory of force caused the world about one-half the trouble it has known. As civilization and the science of government have advanced this rule has become happily more or less obsolete. Instead of action and then inquest, modern governments—at least the best of them—endeavor to establish rules which will prevent trouble because they are rules which are not to be violated. There being no infractions, there is no danger of collision. Instead of trying to reach an agreement as to how far each may go, which involves all manner of risks, they now set up a line over which none dare step. The balance of power is in this respect just like the law of neutrality or the principle of the sovereignty of the sea. It is known and understood, and its observance means the preservation of peace and its violation may mean the bringing on of war.

Safety Line Necessary.

The Monroe doctrine is the theory of the balance of power in this hemisphere, and the United States, led by Grover Cleveland and Secretary Olney, is determined to set up a safety line over which no European nation is to step, and that safety line is simply "no acquisition by force." If this line is not now recognized in international law it must be. I ask Professor Von Holst if there is any good reason why European powers should not subscribe to this wholesome rule set up for the purpose of maintaining the world's peace, just as those powers set up their rule for the same purpose on their side of the water?

The territory in dispute may not be important. Its acquisition by Great Britain certainly would not disturb the status quo so far as to menace the interests of the United States. But suppose instead of establishing the safety line at a time when we are prepared to do so we wait to deal with every case upon its merits when it shall have arisen; then suppose that one European power takes advantage of civil war in this country, or war between the United States and another European power to seize Cuba; would we not then wish that we had raised the principle in time of peace and demanded its recognition?

Principle Favors Europe.

This principle is, too, one which the powers of Europe should themselves be eager to have adopted. The United States assumes no protectorate over American republics. It essays no striding of these governments from the just consequences of their misconduct. It seeks no interference with existing European colonies. It seeks no aggrandizement for itself. What it does desire is to take up a great principle which stands for peace and order and progress, a principle as important to European members of the family of nations as it is to American members. If England were not arrogant and greedy she



would recognize the validity and wholesomeness of this principle and turn it to her own advantage. Whether she recognizes it voluntarily or not it will stand, and the day is coming in which Great Britain will be glad it was raised.

Secretary Olney's elaboration of this idea cannot be excelled in clearness or force. "The people of the United States are content with asserting the doctrine which looks to their own security and welfare," he says. "It is in that view more than in any other that they believe it not to be tolerated that the political control of an American state shall be forcibly assumed by a European power.

Mischief to Be Guarded Against.

"The mischiefs apprehended from such a source are none the less real because not immediately imminent in any specific case, and are none the less to be guarded against because the combination of circumstances that will bring them upon us cannot be predicted. The civilized states of christendom deal with each other on substantially the same principles that regulate the conduct of individuals. The greater its enlightenment the more surely every state perceives that its permanent interests require it to be governed by the immutable principles of right and justice. Each, nevertheless, is only too liable to succumb to the temptations offered by seeming special opportunities for its own aggrandizement, and each would rashly imperil its own safety were it not to remember that for the regard and respect of other states it must be largely dependent upon its own strength and power. To-day the United States is, practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which, it confines its interposition. Why? It is not because of the pure friendship or good will felt for it. It is not simply by reason of its high character as a civilized state, nor, because wisdom and justice and equity are the invariable characteristics of the dealings of the United States. It is because, in addition to all other grounds, its infinite resources, combined with its isolated position, render it master of the situation and practically invulnerable as against any or all other powers.

Perils in the Principle.

"All the advantages of this superiority are at once imperilled if the principle be admitted that European power may convert American states into colonies or provinces of their own. The principle would be eagerly availed of, and every power doing so would immediately acquire a base of military operations against us. What one power was permitted to do could not be denied to another, and it is not inconceivable that the struggle now going on for the acquisition of Africa might be transferred to South America. If it were, the weaker countries would unquestionably be soon absorbed, while the ultimate result might be the partition of all South America between the various European powers. The disastrous consequences to the United States of such a condition of things are obvious. The loss of prestige, of authority, and of weight in the councils of the family of nations would be among the least of them.

"Our only rivals in peace as well as enemies in war would be found located at our very doors. Thus far in our history we have been spared the burdens and evils of immense standing armies and all the other accessories of huge warlike establishments, and the exemption has largely contributed to our national greatness and wealth as well as to the happiness of every citizen. But, with the powers of Europe permanently encamped on American soil, the ideal conditions we have thus far enjoyed cannot be expected to continue. We, too, must be armed to the teeth; we, too, must convert the flower of our male population into soldiers and sailors, and by withdrawing them from the various pursuits of peaceful industry, we, too, must practically annihilate a large share of the productive energy of the nation.

Warned Against Sentiment.

"How a greater calamity than this could overtake us it is difficult to see. Nor are our just apprehensions to be allayed by suggestions of the friendliness of European powers --of their good will toward us--of their disposition should they be our neighbors, to dwell with us in peace and harmony. The people of the United States have learned in the school of experience to what extent the relations of states to each other depend, not upon sentiment nor principle, but upon selfish interest. They will not soon forget that, in their hour of distress, all their anxieties and burdens were aggravated by the possibility of demonstrations against their national life on the part of the powers with whom they had long maintained the most harmonious relations. They have yet in mind that France seized upon the apparent opportunity of our civil war to set up a monarchy in the adjoining state of Mexico. They realize that, had France and Great Britain held important South American possessions to work from and to benefit, the temptation to destroy the predominance of the great republic in this hemisphere by furthering its dismemberment might have been irresistible. From that grave peril they have been saved in the past and may be saved again in the future through the operation of the sure but silent force of the doctrine proclaimed by President Monroe. To abandon it, on the other hand, disregarding both the logic of the situation and the facts of our past experience, would be to renounce a policy which has proved both an easy defense against foreign aggression and a prolific source of international progress and prosperity.

Doctrine Tangible for America.

"There is, then, a doctrine of American public law, well founded in principle and abundantly sanctioned by precedent, which entitles and requires the United States to treat as an injury to itself the forcible assumption by a European power of political control over an American state. The application of the doctrine to the boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela presents no real difficulty. Though the dispute relates to a boundary line, yet, as it is between states, it necessarily imports political control to be lost by one party and gained by the other. The political control at stake, too, is of no mean importance, but concerns a domain of great



extent—the British claim, it will be remembered, apparently expanded in two years some 33,000 square miles—and if it also directly involves the command of the mouth of the Orinoco is of immense consequence in connection with the whole river navigation of the interior of South America.

"It is not admitted, however, and therefore cannot be assumed, that Great Britain is in fact usurping dominion over Venezuelan territory. While Venezuela charges such usurpation, Great Britain denies it, and the United States, until the merits are authoritatively ascertained, can take sides with neither. But, while this is so—while the United States may not, under existing circumstances at least, take upon itself to say which of the two parties is right and which is wrong—it is certainly within its right to demand that the truth shall be ascertained.

Necessity of Investigation.

"Being entitled to resent and resist any sequestration of Venezuelan soil by Great Britain, it is necessarily entitled to know whether such sequestration has occurred or is now going on. Otherwise, if the United States is without the right to know and have it determined whether there is or is not British aggression upon Venezuelan territory, its right to protest against or repel such aggression may be dismissed from consideration. The right to act upon a fact the existence of which there is no right to have ascertained is simply illusory. It being clear, therefore, that the United States may legitimately insist upon the merits of the boundary question being determined, it is equally clear that there is but one feasible mode of determining them, viz., peaceful arbitration.

"Upon what principle—except her feebleness as a nation—is Venezuela to be denied the right of having the claim heard and passed upon by an impartial tribunal? No reason nor shadow of reason appears in all the voluminous literature on the subject. 'It is to be so because I will it to be so' seems to be the only justification Great Britain offers. It is, indeed, intimated that the British claim to this particular territory rests upon an occupation which, whether acquiesced in or not, has ripened into a perfect title by long continuance. But what prescription affecting territorial rights can be said to exist as between sovereign states, and, if there is any, what is the legitimate consequence? It is not that all arbitration should be denied, but only that the submission should embrace an additional topic, namely, the validity of the asserted prescriptive title either in point of law or in point of fact.

Arrogant Attitude of Britain.

"Thus, as already intimated, the British demand that her right to a portion of the disputed territory shall be acknowledged before she will consent to any arbitration as to the rest seems to stand upon nothing but her own ipse dixit. She says to Venezuela, in substance: 'You can get none of the debatable land by force, because you're not strong enough; you can get none by treaty, because I will not agree; and you can take your chance of getting a portion by arbitration only if you first agree to abandon to me such other portion as I may designate.' It is not perceived how such an attitude can be defended nor how it is reconcilable with that love of justice and fair play so eminently characteristic of the English race. It in effect deprives Venezuela of her free agency and puts her under virtual duress. Territory acquired by reason of it will be as much wrested from her by the strong hand as if occupied by British troops or covered by British fleets. It seems, therefore, quite impossible that this position of Great Britain should be assented to by the United States, or that, if such position be adhered to with the result of enlarging the bounds of British Guiana, it should not be regarded as amounting, in substance, to an invasion and conquest of Venezuelan territory."

WALTER WELLMAN.

Chas. A. ...

28. Decr. 1895.

MONROE DOCTRINE DISCUSSED.

Dr. von Holst Replies to Mr. Olney.

CHICAGO, Dec. 27.—To the Editor: No close and fair-minded observer, whatever his own views of the Venezuela imbroglio be, can deny that the public mind would have maintained a calmer and more critical attitude, but for the undoubting belief that the Monroe Doctrine was involved in the issue. Up to the octogenarians, all native Americans have been taught from their childhood to consider it one of the most precious national heirlooms, to revere it with unflinching devotion, to guard it with never slumbering watchfulness, to defend it at any cost. In the civic primer of the adopted citizens, too, it has come to be a double loaded and all inspiring headline; even if they knew nothing whatever of Monroe they sooner or later learned that to question the Monroe Doctrine was to proclaim oneself fallen from grace, un-American and a ruthless heretic. It has become a political dogma with the whole nation. Under ordinary circumstances, however, upon nothing is less thought bestowed than upon inherited dogmas that are implicitly believed in. Just because everybody accepts, hardly anybody deems it necessary to inquire what they really mean and amount to.

Question of Pure Fact.

It is not my purpose to examine to-day the merits or demerits of the Doctrine. I do not want to argue at all. My purpose is merely to find the basis for an argument. Let it be granted that we ought to bow down with unquestioning reverence to the doctrine. That evidently would be absolutely irrelevant in case it should appear that it does not apply to this controversy. Opinions differ widely as to whether it does apply or not. It is, however, not a question of opinion, but simply of fact. The fact is perfectly ascertainable and everybody can ascertain it for himself if only the authentic evidence is laid before him. This is so my purpose is to do without any comment, because it is not only the right but also the duty of every citizen to ascertain for himself the fact from unchallengeable records. If they should prove that the doctrine does not apply to the case in hand that would by no means of necessity imply that the policy pursued by the executive is to be condemned. Possibly the people ought to endorse it unconditionally and with the greatest enthusiasm, but

not because of the Monroe Doctrine. It would have to be done on the strength of other reasons. The Cleveland-Olney Doctrine might still deserve the highest commendation, but not because it is the Monroe Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine is not what Cleveland and Olney tell us it ought to be, but solely what its authors understood and intended it to be.

The Doctrine Enunciated.

The paragraph in Mr. Monroe's seventh annual message of Dec. 2, 1823, comprising what is usually termed "The Monroe Doctrine," reads thus:

In the wars of European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy to do so. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the Allied Powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments. And to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure and matured by the wisdom of the most enlightened citizens and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. In the war between those new governments and Spain, we declared our neutrality at the time of their organization, and to this we have adhered and shall continue to adhere, provided no chance shall occur which in the judgment of the competent authorities of this government shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

Mr. Adams' Notes of It.

In the diary of John Quincy Adams, President Monroe's Secretary of State, we find on the 7th of November, 1823, the following entry:

Cabinet meeting at the President's from half past one to four. Mr. Calhoun, Secretary of War, Mr. Southard, Secretary of the Navy present. The subject for consideration was the confidential proposals of the British Secretary of State, George

Notes on the History of the
County of York

Canning to H. Rush (the American representative at the Court of St. James) and the correspondence between them relating to the products of the Holy Alliance upon South America. There was much conversation without coming to any definite point. The object of Canning appears to have been to obtain some public pledge from the government of the United States ostensibly against the forcible interference of the Holy Alliance between Spain and South America, but really or especially against the acquisition to the United States themselves of any part of the Spanish-American possessions.

Mr. Calhoun inclined to giving a discretionary power to Mr. Rush to join in a declaration against the interference of the Holy Allies if necessary, even if it should pledge us not to take Cuba or the province of Texas; because the power of Great Britain being greater than ours to seize upon them, we should get the advantage of obtaining from her the same declaration we should make ourselves.

I thought the cases not parallel. We have no intention of seizing either Texas or Cuba. But the inhabitants of either or both may exercise their primitive rights and solicit a union with us. They will certainly do no such thing to Great Britain. By joining with her, therefore, in her proposed declaration we give her a substantial and perhaps inconvenient pledge against ourselves and really obtain nothing in return. Without entering now into the inquiry of the expediency of our annexing Texas or Cuba to our Union, we should at least keep ourselves free to act as emergencies may arise and not tie ourselves down to any principle which immediately afterward may be brought to bear against ourselves.

Mr. Southard inclined much to the same opinion. The President was averse to any course which should have the appearance of taking a position subordinate to that of Great Britain. (Memoirs of John Quincy Adams. Vol. 6, pp. 177 and 178).

Impulse Given by England.

Thus we see that the first impulse to the announcement of the policy which was soon to be termed "The Monroe Doctrine" was given by England; that its point was turned against the Holy Alliance, and that the American Secretary of State distrusted the candor of England's overtures, supposing that under this disguise she intended to erect a bulwark against the ambition of the United States.

On the 13th of November, Mr. Adams writes:

I find him (the President) yet altogether unsettled in his own mind, as to the answer to be given to Mr. Canning's proposals, and alarmed far beyond anything that I could have conceived possible with a fear that the Holy Alliance are about to restore immediately all South America to Spain: (Ibid. p. 130).

On the 21st of November, I mentioned also my wish to prepare a paper to be delivered confidentially to Baron Tuvil (the Russian Ambassador). * * * My purpose would be in a moderate and conciliatory manner, but with a firm and determined spirit, to declare our dissent from the principles avowed on these communications from the Russian government in regard to the questions of the Spanish Colonies in America; to assert those upon which our own government is founded, and while disclaiming all intention of attempting to propagate them by force and all interference with the political affairs of Europe, to declare our expectation and hope that the European powers will abstain from the attempt to spread their principles in the American hemisphere or to subjugate by force any part of those continents to their will.

Primary Authority for It.

This is the first informal and unofficial formulation of the Monroe Doctrine. Its real author is, as we see, not President Monroe but his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams. His opinions as to its intention and purport are therefore of greater weight than those of any other man. It is the primary

and principal authority in regard to it. It is deserving of notice that at the same time, Mr. Adams was less alarmed than either the President or the other members of the Cabinet by the alleged sinister designs of the Holy Alliance as to the Spanish Colonies, and on that account objected to the tone of the introduction of the message the President was in a few days to send to Congress. "I said," he states, "the tone of the introduction I apprehended would take the nation by surprise and greatly alarm them. It would come upon them like a clap of thunder. There had never been in the history of this nation a period of so deep calm and tranquillity as we now enjoy. We never were upon the whole in a state of peace so profound as secure with all foreign nations as at this time. This message would be a summons to arms—to arms against all Europe, and for objects of policy exclusively European—Greece and Spain. It would be as new too in our policy as it would be surprising."

Let us keep in mind that these sentences do not refer to the sentences called the Monroe Doctrine, but to the general tone of the message. Mr. Calhoun took a different view. Mr. Adams writes: "Calhoun said that he thought there was not the tranquillity that I spoke of; that there was great anxiety in the thinking part of the nation; that there was a general expectation that the Holy Alliance would employ force against South America, and that it would be proper that the President should send the alarm to the nation. A time was approaching when all its energies would be needed and the public mind ought to be prepared for it."

No Aggression Intended.

On the 22d of November we find the following entry:

I spoke to him (the President) again, urging him to abstain from everything in his message which the Holy Alliance could make a pretext for construing into aggression upon them. * * * If the Holy Alliance were determined to make up an issue with us it was our policy to meet and not to make it. We should retreat to the wall before taking to arms, and be sure at every step to put them as much as possible in the wrong. I said if the Holy Alliance really intended to restore by force the Colonies of Spain to her dominion it was questionable to me whether we had not after all been over hasty in acknowledging the South American independence." (Ibid pp. 136 and 137).

The President, after much vacillation, ended by adopting Mr. Adams' views. The latter writes on the 24th:

The President read his paragraphs respecting the Greeks, Spain, Portugal and South America. I thought them quite unexceptionable and drawn up altogether in the spirit that I had so urgently pressed on Friday and Saturday. I was highly gratified at the change, and only hope the President will adhere to his present views. (Ibid pp. 139).

It is furthermore to be noticed that Mr. Adams' views now perfectly coincided with those he supposed Mr. Canning to hold. He writes: "We disavowed all interference with European affairs and my whole paper was drawn up to come in conclusion precisely to the identical declaration of Mr. Canning himself and to express our concurrence with it." (Ibid pp. 204.) And again: "But the act of the executive could not, after all, commit the nation to a pledge of war. Nor was war contemplated by the proposals of Mr. Canning. He had explicitly stated to Mr. Rush from the beginning that his object was merely a concerted expression of sentiment which he supposed would avert the necessity of war." (Ibid pp. 208.)

1875

Mr. Jefferson is Quoted.

The information from Mr. Rush in regard to England's wishes on which the combined declarations we have noticed were based, dated back to the summer of 1823. The President had requested Mr. Jefferson to express his opinions in regard to the momentous question. The latter replied on October 24th, 1823:

Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. "Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs. America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe. While the last is laboring to become the domicile of despotism, our endeavor should surely be to make our hemisphere that of freedom. * * * One nation most of all could disturb us in this pursuit; she now offers to lead (2), aid and accompany us in it. By acceding to her proposition we detach her from the bonds, bring her mighty weight into the scale of free government and emancipate a continent at one stroke which might otherwise linger long in doubt and difficulty. Great Britain is a nation which can do us the most harm of any one or all on earth; and with her on our side we need not fear the whole world. With her, then, we should most sedulously cherish a cordial friendship; and nothing would tend more to knit our affections than to be fighting once more side by side in the same cause. Not that I would purchase even her amity at the price of taking part in her wars. But the war in which the present proposition might engage us, should that be its consequence, is not her war but ours. Its object is to introduce and establish the American system of keeping out of our land all foreign powers, of never permitting those of Europe to intermeddle with the affairs of our nations. * * * It is to maintain our own principle, not to depart from it. And if to facilitate this we can effect a division in the body of European powers and draw over to our side its most powerful member, surely we should do it. But I am clearly of Mr. Cunningham's opinion that it will prevent instead of provoke war. With Great Britain withdrawn from their scale and shifted into that of our two continents, all Europe combined would not undertake such a war. (Jefferson's Works. Volume 7, pp. 315 to 316.)

Each Guards by Its Own Means.

Now let us turn to the interpretation given to the Monroe Doctrine right upon the heels of its promulgation by the principal authors of it. John Quincy Adams, now President of the United States, said in his message to the Senate concerning the proposed Congress of American States at Panama in 1826, "An agreement between all the parties represented at the meeting that each will guard BY ITS OWN MEANS against the establishment of any future European Colony within its borders may be found advisable. This (2) was more than two years since announced by my predecessor to the world as a principle resulting from the emancipation of both the American continents. It may be so developed to the new Southern Nations that they may feel it as an essential appendage to their own independence."

Mr. Benton, from whom I take this quotation, (abridgment of the debates of Congress Vol. 7, p. 171. Foot note) adds:

The circumstances of this communication render it incredible that he (Adams) could be deceived in his understanding of this comprehensive doctrine, and according to him this Monroe Doctrine—under which it has been of late supposed that the United States were to stand guard over the two Americas and to refuse all intrusive European colonies from their shores—WAS ENTIRELY CONFINED TO OUR OWN BORDERS; that it was ONLY proposed to get the other states of the new world to agree that EACH FOR ITSELF AND BY ITS OWN MEANS SHOULD GUARD ITS OWN TERRITORIES, and consequently that the United

States SO FAR FROM EXTENDING GRATUITOUS PROTECTION TO THE TERRITORIES OF OTHER STATES WOULD NOT COMMIT ITSELF EITHER TO GIVE OR RECEIVE AID IN ANY SUCH ENTERPRISE, BUT THAT EACH SHOULD USE ITS OWN MEANS WITHIN ITS OWN BORDERS FOR ITS OWN EXEMPTION FROM EUROPEAN COLONIAL INTRUSION. And this was in exact conformity to an earlier and cherished policy enunciated by Washington and sanctioned by the public sentiments of two generations:

"No entangling alliances."

Mutual Pledge of Parties.

Again, in his special message of March 15, 1826, to the House of Representatives in regard to the Panama Congress President Adams says, referring to the Monroe Doctrine:

In alluding to these means it would obviously be premature at this time to anticipate that which is offered merely as a matter for consultation; or to pronounce upon those measures which have been or may be suggested. The purpose of this government is to concur in none which would impart hostility to Europe or justify hostile resentment in any of her States. Should it be deemed advisable to contract any conventional engagement on this topic our views would extend no further than to a mutual pledge of the parties to the compact TO MAINTAIN THE PRINCIPLE IN APPLICATION TO ITS OWN TERRITORY and to permit no colonial lodgments or establishment of European jurisdiction UPON ITS OWN SOIL.

The Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, in a report submitted by Mr. Macon, but written by Mr. Tazewell, says in regard to this question of the Panama Congress and the Monroe Doctrine:

While the United States retain the position which they have hitherto occupied AND MANIFEST A CONSTANT DETERMINATION NOT TO MINGLE THEIR INTERESTS WITH THOSE OF THE OTHER STATES OF AMERICA they may continue to employ the influence which they possess and have already happily exerted with the nations of Europe in favor of the new Republics. * * * And the United States who have grown up in happiness to their present prosperity by a strict observance of their own well known course of policy and by manifesting entire good will and most profound respect for all other nations, must prepare to embark their future destinies upon an unknown and turbulent ocean directed by little experience and destined for no certain haven. In such an age of dissimilitude existing between themselves and their associates in interest (2), character, language, religion, manners, customs, habits, laws and almost every other particular; and the rivalry these dissimilitudes must surely produce amongst them would generate discords which, if they did not destroy all hope of its successful termination, would make even success itself the ultimate cause of new and direful conflicts between themselves. Such has been the issue of all such enterprises in past time; we have therefore strong reasons to expect in the future similar results from similar causes. (Benton, Thirty Years in the United States Senate. Vol. I, pp. 68 and 69.)

What Henry Clay Said.

Henry Clay than whom no man had done more for the recognition of the independence of the Spanish Colonies, offered on the 20th of January, 1821, in the House of Representatives, the following resolutions: "Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the people of these States would not see without serious inquietude any forcible interposition by the allied power of Europe in behalf of Spain to reduce to their former subjection those parts of the continent of America which have proclaimed and established for themselves respectively independent governments and which have been solemnly recognized by the United States."



On the 20th of May of the same year Mr. Clay requested the House that it should allow this resolution "to sleep where it now reposes on the table." The reason he gave for this request was that "events and circumstances subsequent to the communication of the message (containing the Monroe Doctrine) evinced that if such a purpose were ever seriously entertained it had been relinquished, and that he was unwilling to do unnecessarily aught that might give umbrage to the European powers." (Annals of Congress, 1823-1824, pp. 1164, 2763 and 2764.)

Now when the proposed Congress at Panama had again given the question a practical aspect, the House of Representatives went considerably further in manifesting a rigorously conservative disposition. By a vote of ninety-nine to ninety-five it adopted the following resolution offered originally by Mr. McLain of Delaware as an addition to a resolution proposed by a committee and amended with the consent of Mr. McLain by Mr. Buchanan:

The House, however, in expressing this opinion, do not intend to sanction any departure from the settled policy of this government that in extending our commercial relations with foreign nations we should have with them as little political connection as possible, and that we should preserve peace, commerce, and friendship with all nations and form entangling alliances WITH NONE. It is therefore the opinion of the House that the government of the United States ought not to be represented at the Congress of Panama except in a diplomatic character; nor ought they to form any alliance, offensive or defensive, or negotiate respecting such an alliance with all or any of the Spanish American Republics; NOR OUGHT THEY TO BECOME PARTIES WITH THEM OR EITHER OF THEM TO ANY JOINT DECLARATION FOR THE PURPOSE OF PREVENTING THE INTERFERENCE OF ANY OF THE EUROPEAN POWERS WITH THEIR INDEPENDENCE OR FORM OF GOVERNMENT; OR TO ANY CONTACT FOR THE PURPOSE OF PREVENTING COLONIZATION UPON THE CONTINENT OF AMERICA; BUT THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES SHOULD BE LEFT FREE TO ACT IN ANY CRISIS IN SUCH A MANNER AS THEIR FEELINGS OF FRIENDSHIP AND AS THEIR OWN HONOR AND POLICY MAY AT THE TIME DICTATE. (Register of the Debates in Congress 1825-1826, Volume 2, Part 2, Pages 2369 and 2457.)

Daniel Webster's Language.

In a speech of April 14, 1826, in the House of Representatives Daniel Webster, strongly opposing Mr. McLain's resolution, says: "As to all that part of the amendment indeed which asserts the neutral policy of the United States and the inexpediency of forming alliances, no man assents to these sentiments more readily or more entirely than myself. On these points we are all agreed. Such is our opinion; such the President assures us in terms is his opinion; such we know to be the opinion of the country." (The Works of Daniel Webster, Vol. 3, page 187.)

And again:

It is however contended that new force has been recently given to this declaration (The Monroe doctrine) but of this I see no evidence whatever. I see nothing in any instructions or communications from our government changing the character of that declaration in any degree. There is as I have before said in one of Mr. Pinckney's letters an inaccuracy of expression. If he has rectified correctly his conversation with the Mexican Minister, he did go too far, further than any instruction warranted. But, taking his whole correspondence together, it is quite manifest that he has deceived nobody and that he has not committed the country. On the subject of a pledge he put the Mexican Minister, entirely right. He stated to him distinctly that this government had given no pledge which should call upon it to redeem. (Ibid. page 188.)

And furthermore

Those views and others of a similar character render it highly desirable to us that these new States should settle in AS A PART OF THEM, and not to allow colonization within their respective territories. True indeed we did not need their aid to assist us in maintaining such a course

30
FOR OURSELVES; BUT WE HAD AN INTEREST IN THEIR ASSERTION AND SUPPORT OF THE PRINCIPLE AS APPLICABLE TO THEIR OWN TERRITORY.

And finally:

It is not a slight injury to our interest; it is not even a great inconvenience that makes out a case (for interference by the United States). There must be danger to our security, MANIFEST AND IMMINENT DANGER TO OUR ESSENTIAL RIGHTS AND OUR ESSENTIAL INTERESTS. (Ibid. Page 257.)

Speech of Mr. Calhoun.

Mr. Calhoun, of whose participation in the formulation of the Monroe doctrine we have heard, said in regard to it in a speech on the proposed occupation of Yucatan, May 15, 1848:

All this has passed away. That very movement on the part of England, sustained by this declaration, gave a blow to the celebrated alliances (Holy Alliance) from which it never recovered. * * * The President has quoted that very declaration in support of his recommendation; but in a manner changing entirely its meaning, by separating it from the context as it stood in the message and which referred it to the Allied Powers, and placing it in connection with a portion of his message which made it refer to Great Britain, Spain or other European powers. The change has made the declaration so inconsistent and absurd that had it been made by Mr. Monroe as it stands in the President's message, it would have been the subject of the animadversion and ridicule, instead of receiving as it did the approbation and applause of the whole country. * * * It would have involved the absurdity of asserting that the attempt of any European state to extend its system of government to this continent, the smallest as well as the greatest, would endanger the peace and the safety of our country. (Works of Calhoun, Vol. 4, pp. 436 and 437.)

And again:

These declarations under this broad interpretation were disavowed entirely three years afterward by the vote of the Republican Party when the administration of Mr. Adams, endeavored to carry them out practically by sending Ministers to the Congress of Panama. * * * No; it is not and never has been the established policy of the country. AND IF IT SHOULD EVER BECOME SO TO THE WIDE EXTENT TO WHICH THESE DECLARATIONS HAVE BEEN INTERPRETED TO GO OUR PEACE WOULD EVER BE DESTROYED; THE GATES OF OUR JAMES' WOULD EVER STAND OPEN, WARS WOULD NEVER CEASE.

Party to All Their Wars.

What the President has asserted in this case is not a principle belonging to these declarations; it is a principle which in his misconception he attempts to ingraft upon them, but which has an entirely different meaning and tendency. The principle which lies at the bottom of his recommendation is—that when any power on this continent becomes involved in internal warfare the weaker side chooses to make application to us for support we are bound to give them support for fear the offer of the sovereignty of the country may be made to some other power and accepted. It goes infinitely and dangerously beyond Mr. Monroe's declaration. It puts it in the power of other countries on this continent to make us a party to all their wars; and hence I say if this broad interpretation be given to these declarations we shall forever be involved in war. But in disavowing a principle which will compel us to resist every case of insurrection of European powers on this continent I would not wish to be understood as defending the principle, that we should never resist their intervention. This is a position which would be nearly as dangerous and absurd as the other. BUT NO GENERAL RULE CAN BE LAID DOWN TO GUIDE US IN SUCH A QUESTION EVERY CASE MUST SPEAK FOR ITSELF EVERY CASE MUST BE DECIDED ON ITS OWN MERITS. WHETHER YOU WILL RESIST OR NOT AND THE MEASURE OF YOUR RESISTANCE—WHETHER IT SHALL BE BY NEGOTIATION, REMONSTRANCE OR SOME INTERMEDIATE MEASURE OR BY A REPORT TO ARM ALL THIS MUST BE DETERMINED AND DECIDED ON THE MERITS OF THE QUESTION ITSELF THIS IS THE ONLY WISE COURSE. WE ARE NOT TO HAVE QUOTED ON US ON



40

EVERY OCCASION GENERAL DECLARATIONS TO WHICH ANY AND EVERY MEANING MAY BE ATTACHED. (Ibid, pp. 457 and 458.)

No Right to Intervene.

In conclusion it seems quite worth while to give the following quotation from a dispatch of Mr. Seward, October 9th, 1863, to Mr. Motley, our representative at Vienna, though I do not agree with Ex-Governor Gustave Koerner, who in an able article, "The Hawaiian Treaty and the Monroe Doctrine" (The Open Court, April 13, 1893) maintains that it proves that Lincoln and Seward did not deem the Monroe doctrine applicable to the Napoleon Maximilian venture in Mexico. Mr. Seward writes:

France has invaded Mexico and war exists between those two countries. The United States hold in regard to these two states and their conflict the same principle that they hold in relation to all other nations and their mutual wars. They have neither a right nor any disposition to intervene by force in the internal affairs of Mexico, whether to establish or whether to maintain a republican or even a despotic government there or to overthrow an imperial or a foreign one if Mexico shall choose to establish it or accept it. (It seems to me that Governor Koerner has failed to allow their due weight to the last words.) The United States have not a right nor a disposition to intervene by force in the lamentable war which is going on between France and Mexico. On the contrary they practice in regard to Mexico in every phase of the war the non-intervention which they require all foreign powers to observe in regard to the United States. (Diplomatic Correspondence.)

H. VON HOLST.

[Professor von Holst requests that it be stated that the capitals in the above quotations are his own and not those of the authors from whom he quotes.]

1893



Dec. 19.—The Monroe Doctrine in a Nutshell.

KIDD'S TREASURE.

A NEW COMPANY ORGANIZED TO FIND IT.

Operations Now Being Carried on at Oak Island, Nova Scotia—The Reasons Why the Searchers are Confident of Success—Satisfactory Progress Being Made.

It seems odd that just at the dawn of the twentieth century a regular incorporated company, with a capital of £17,000, should be working in and day to recover the buried treasure of Capt. Kidd. Yet say Glasgow Weekly Mail, that is the Oak Island Treasure Company.

le. A large dinner was given in honour of him and Admiral Trenchard in May. He was also entertained by the Emperor of Germany, who expressed himself as pleased with Captain Mahan's writings. He was graduated from the Naval Academy in 1859, and was commissioned as a lieutenant on August 31, 1861. He received the commission of lieutenant-commander on June 7, 1865, and that of commander on November 20, 1872. He was promoted to be captain in 1883, and from 1886 to 1889 was president of the Naval War College. In the latter year he was selected as resident of a commission for select-sites for a navy yard on the northwest coast, and afterward until 1892 he was detailed for special duty in the Bureau of Navy. From 1892 until May, 1893, he filled the office of president of the War College, and Torpedo School.

42

Globe
23. Dec. 1895.

MUST BE NO WAR.

Principal Grant on the Venezuela Dispute.

SERMON AT ST. ANDREW'S.

Vigorous Statement of the British Claims.

Christian Men and Women in the United States and Canada Urged to Unite to Prevent Bloodshed.

Principal Grant of Queen's University, Kingston, preached last evening in St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, King street, taking as his subject the present grave dispute between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon people. His discourse was an eloquent one, and was listened to with profound attention. His text was:—"Behold how good and how pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity," Psalm cxxxiii, 1. The following is the full text of the portion of his sermon dealing with the threatened trouble:—

The office of Hebrew seer and psalmist was to read aright "the signs of the times" and to urge upon the people the duty of the time in the light of that knowledge of God's character and of His moral government of the world possessed by the prophets through special enlightenment of the Divine Spirit. We are able in so far as we possess the spirit of Christ, to apply their principles to the solution of our national problems; and a public crisis has now arisen which demands that this be done by every well-instructed Christian teacher.

What feature characterizes this century above all others? The moral unification of humanity. Various forces are contributing to this—the annihilation of distance, the development of commerce, the growth of common sentiments among civilized nations, the power of opinion in determining the action of Governments, the missionary activity of Christian churches, an ever-increasing faith in the unity and solidarity of human interests. The English-speaking race leads the van of this great movement; and therefore all who hope for the coming of the Kingdom of God on earth pray that the two nations into which that race is divided may become more and more united, and so ensure the triumph of righteousness, of liberty, and of peace on earth. Both are animated by the same great ideas. Their interests are the interests of the whole world. Their indissoluble union, while threatening none save common enemies, would inaugurate the millennium. Look, for instance, at what their united action could have accomplished in that part of the world which has been a burden on the heart and conscience of both nations for the past year. Britain is unable to relieve Armenia, because she knows that overt action on her part would bring Russia into the field on the side of Turkey, and the sword of France is now in the hand of Russia. Britain desires self-government for Armenia like that which has been successively gained for Roumania, Bulgaria and Servia, or that triumph of law and order which has been gained for Bosnia and Herzegovina. But Russia, bitterly disappointed at those results, is determined that Armenia shall be saved from the Turk only by absorption into her own despotic system. Britain has therefore been obliged to proceed only as fast as the slowest members of the European concert will march with her. If she could have depended on the co-operation of the States the problem would have been solved before this.

A BOLT FROM THE BLUE.

The struggle to secure justice for the poor Armenians has been left to her with the backing of no other nation but Italy. And now, while engaged in this struggle with the forces of the pit and of human selfishness combined, and while a nest of vipers is crying out that all risks must be run rather than suffer longer delay, a terrible bolt from the blue has been aimed at her. The nation that has sprung from her loins, that has sucked the milk of her heroic traditions and inspiring literature, and that should be now standing by her side in the cause of outraged humanity,



173

is clamoring, by the mouths of her representatives, for war against her. The greatest crime that the imagination of man can conceive, a crime against human interests and hopes, against kinship, against liberty, against the most hallowed bonds of a common origin and a common faith, is risked without a day's delay for consideration, and spoken of as lightly as if it were a picnic. War must not be. Every Christian man and woman on both sides of the line must solemnly swear that there shall not be war between Britain and the United States of America. The moral unification of humanity which is dawning on the horizon must not be interfered with. Let there be war between light and darkness, but never again between the sons of light.

WHAT THE DISPUTE IS.

What is the dispute that has led to these threats? Not one man in 10,000 of those who clamor most loudly can explain; but it is indispensable that we should understand the exact points involved if we would know the best way out of the difficulty or have any influence with others in preventing war. It has been said that it is a mere boundary dispute between the British colony of Guiana and the Republic of Venezuela. That is not so. Were that the only point involved it would be submitted to arbitration at once. Arbitration would be the right way of settling such a dispute. The questions are rather these:—Can a nation, like an individual, gain the right of possession over territory by actual settlement and possession for a long term of years? If not, then by what right have we possession of Canada and the United States possession of their glorious territory?

In the next place, ought a nation to submit to arbitration the point whether a number of its subjects should be transferred against their will to the rule of a semi-civilized power? Mexico is more orderly and civilized than Venezuela, for the latter has had an insurrection, rebellion or civil war every second or third year on an average since it became a republic. Yet would the United States arbitrate whether 40,000 citizens of Texas should become Mexicans if Mexico asserted that Texas had been improperly delimited and that part of her soil really belonged to Mexico? Of course not. Suppose Britain demanded that the States should arbitrate it, what would the answer be? Suppose that Britain appointed a commission to delimit Texas and Mexico, what then? This illustrates what the recent action of the United States has been. Why should they not proceed to delimit Ashantee next at the intercession of the

King of Coomassie? It may be said that their ambition extends no farther than South America. But if they may sail over 1,200 miles of intervening sea to Guiana, why not over 3,000 miles to Ashantee, or to any other part of the world?

FACTS OF THE CASE.

The facts of the case show that these are the two questions really in dispute, and whenever an intelligent American understands them he will have no difficulty in giving answers. Spain and Portugal claimed the whole of the new world between them on the ground of a Papal bull of the fifteenth century. Holland did not recognize that ground, and claimed that whatever territory she settled on was hers. In 1791 Spain admitted the Dutch claim to be good as far west as the Essequibo River. In 1803 Britain captured Dutch Guiana and has held it ever since. She also extended her boundary further west on the same principle of possession that the Dutch and every other country has acted on. In 1810 Venezuela rebelled against Spain, though her independence was not acknowledged till long afterwards. The boundary between Guiana and Venezuela remained undefined till Britain engaged Mr. Schomburg, the most distinguished of South American explorers after Humboldt, to determine it on this principle of actual possession. He did so about 50 years ago, and that is the line to which Britain adheres, though many others have been proposed. For two generations her subjects have held the territory in peace. They number about 40,000, and it is now proposed that it be left to an outside party to say whether they should not be turned into Venezuelans. To that proposal Britain simply says, "Quite impossible, though we are willing to leave to arbitration our claims to territory beyond the Schomburg line, as well as other points of difference between us and Venezuela." What else could she say?

GROUND OF INTERFERENCE.

On what grounds does the Government of the States claim the right to interfere? On two, each apparently reasonable: (1) That arbitration is a better way of settling disputes than violence, and that the party which has a strong case need not be afraid of submitting it to any tribunal. Within certain limits that plea is undeniable. But surely there are limits. For instance, would the United States submit to arbitration the ownership of that tract of Canada which they added to Maine by suppressing Franklin's map? They would not, and they would be right in refusing. It is too late to reopen the question when the tract has been settled by their citizens. (2) That



the United States has a natural leadership of the weaker American powers, and that it should protect them against encroachments. There is a force in this, too, which appeals to generous minds, and as long as this protection does not inflict injustice on other countries it will awaken sympathy. But if used unwisely it would degenerate into encouraging the weak to be insolent and arbitrary without sense of responsibility. It has been used unwisely in this case. Why make a formal demand in 1895 for arbitration, when in 1883 Britain had notified the States "that the territory now in dispute was as much a part of her country as any of her colonial possessions, and that she could not permit her right to occupy it to be arbitrated; that, although she would submit to arbitration some of the points in dispute between Venezuela and herself, she would not submit to arbitration her control of the country held by her." Why? Was it because Venezuela in April, 1895, gave a concession of 15,000,000 acres in the heart of the disputed territory to a combination of American capitalists? We know how much the attitude of the American Government in the Bering Sea dispute some years ago was determined by the fact that a wealthy syndicate had leased the Pribyloff Islands and was a large contributor to the campaign fund of the party. Whatever the reason, however, the demand should not have been made this year in view of the decision of 1888. We do not say that nothing should have been done. A commission, provided it be appointed jointly by all the parties to a dispute, is a good way to get at facts and so secure a basis for negotiations. Had, therefore, the United States, as a friend to the two nations, suggested to the British Government the appointment of such a joint commission to investigate all the facts and report, the suggestion would probably have been agreed to. Unfortunately the President took the matter violently into his own hands, with the bad results we know.

WAR MUST NOT FOLLOW.

The fact has now to be faced that offensive overt action has been taken by the United States. What will happen next? One thing must not happen. There must not be war. Had any other Government done what the United States has done Britain would have recalled her Ambassador and war would follow. But Sir Julian Pauncefote will not be instructed to demand his passports. Britain will put up with almost any folly from the United States. True dignity understands that the giver of an insult is the one who is really injured. The American commission, when appointed, will get to work at once. If it reports that, in view of all the facts of the situation, the Schomberg line is a reasonable boundary, then there need be no further trouble. Even should it give a different report some settlement can be found by the two Christian peoples

concerned. But we are not going to engage in the bombardment of cities, in the burning and blowing up of ships and in millionfold murder of kinsfolk, with all the miseries and hatreds connected therewith burned into our brain forever, if we can help it in any way consistent with righteousness.

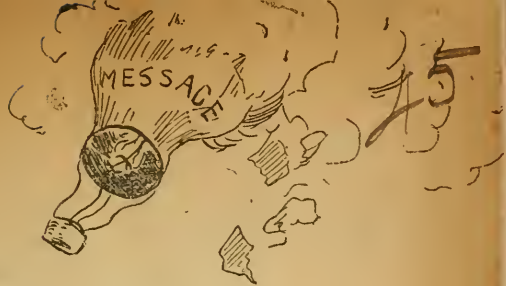
ATTITUDE OF THE PRESS.

With great pleasure I have noted the attitude of the British and Canadian press upon the subject. One or two of our own papers have, indeed, tried to make a little local political capital out of the threatened world-wide catastrophe; but the general tone has been very different. I shall be astonished if the American pulpit does not do its duty to-day; and I shall be still more astonished if within the next few weeks the sound sense and right feeling of the vast mass of the American people does not assert itself and put to shame not only the wild men of the House of Representatives but the President himself, who has blurred a great record by a great mistake. Yesterday's prayer of the grand old blind preacher who is chaplain to the Senate will be the prayer of thousands to-day. Let it be ours this night: "Forbid that the two foremost nations of the world

which bear the name of Christians, with one language, one faith, one baptism, one Lord, shall be embroiled in war with all its horrors and barbarisms. Grant, we beseech Thee, that we may be saved from imbruing our hands in each other's blood. Let the spirit of justice and magnanimity prevail among the rulers of both nations and among the people—the kindred people—of the two lands, so that all differences and difficulties may be amicably and satisfactorily settled, and the Lord's name may be glorified by the establishment of concord, amity and brotherly kindness, and charity pervade all our land and our motherland."

Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity! The Psalmist, reflecting on the disasters which had befallen Israel on account of tribal jealousies and the schism of the race, is gladdened as he sees the people streaming up from all the land to Mount Zion, one in heart and soul. We, reflecting on the evils that have flowed from the wars of churches and from last century's schism of our race, will not be responsible for aggravating them. We shall speak no word and enter upon no action which shall inflame passion or prejudice. We appeal to the followers of our common Lord and Master, and we point out to them the noble prize which our unity can secure of peace on earth, good will to men. God grant that we shall see in our day the realization of this blessed Christmas angel song.





FOREIGN DISAPPROVAL

THE

46

The Free Press,

LONDON, ONT.

Tuesday, December 24, 1895.

J. K. CLARE, - - - General Manager.
W. SWAISLAND, - Secretary-Treasurer.

UNITED STATES ANTAGONISM TO GREAT BRITAIN.

The British and foreign press has discussed in such an exhaustive manner the purpose of the "Monroe doctrine" as advanced and enlarged by President Cleveland in his late message to Congress, that little need be said by way of elucidation. The pretence that Great Britain by claiming the right to rectify her boundary line between her possessions in British Guiana and the territory of Venezuela is infringing on the sacred "doctrine" of non-intervention, originally formulated by President Monroe in the year 1823, is considered as a straining of the amicable relations between the American Republic and the British Empire. Such a construction of this unwritten constitutional theory is evidently sought for party political purposes; it is a pandering to the sordid passions of the American people. When during the American civil conflict of 1861-1865, the French Emperor Napoleon III. intrigued to place Maximilian as Emperor on the throne of Mexico in a country directly abutting the southern frontier of the American Union, the enunciation of the Monroe doctrine had some show of reason. But, if the map of the two continents of North and South America be examined, it will be seen that the Caribbean Sea and the Isthmus of Panama separates Venezuela from the extreme southern limits of the United States. Hence it is clear that the American people are not geographically interested in the boundary dispute between Great Britain and the Southern Republic. However this may be, the right of interference is claimed and put forth by the American President—a right which has since been endorsed and sustained by both branches of the United States Government.

If we seek to trace the secret reasons for this action of President Cleveland they may be found to lie in two directions: first in order the flatter the pride of the American people for the purpose of obtaining a political advantage at the presidential election next November; secondly, to satisfy a sort of vanity on Cleveland's part. He evidently poses to appear on the page of history as the one particular President who has had the patriotism to say to an European power—"stay; we dare you to overstep the boundary you at present possess, with or without the consent of Venezuela; we will define the boundary line you shall observe." This menacing attitude, galling enough, must be respected by Great Britain and other Governments at the risk of the rupture of diplomatic relations. It is, however, declared by several of the European powers as an unwarrantable assumption and opposed to the comity of nations.

It must be deeply regretted that such animus as is now displayed on this subject should possess the American mind. What has Great Britain done to merit the feverish outburst of hostility and rancour? No serious causes of difference have arisen between the two nations since the celebrated Alabama treaty, under which England had to pay the United States a fine of \$15,000,000 by way of compensation for alleged injuries sustained by American citizens in consequence of the depredations of the Alabama cruiser on American marine. We are unaware of any other complex question arising since that period, other than the fishery and sealing disputes, which have been adjusted. Whence then arises this ever-prevailing bitter feeling of animosity towards the British people which undoubtedly permeates American thought? Why the indulgence of the ever-wakeful hostility to everything British which characterises the speeches in Congress and the articles in the American press generally? Does the Dominion of Canada as part of the Empire operate as a standing menace to the Republic, and why is the sight of the union-



Jack a cause of national irritation? Other reasons for the antagonism which is so much to be regretted lie in the hatred of the Republic to any form of monarchy, even to the mild semi-republican monarchy of the British crown. The American Republic is ever restive at the thought that the country to the north of the lakes should be "British." Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State under President Lincoln, repeatedly claimed that all the transatlantic possessions of Great Britain should of right belong to the American people; that Cuba and the islands in the Gulf should likewise pass under the American flag. This demand has never subsided; the hope that the stars-and-stripes may eventually float from the north pole to the southern limits of the North American continent ever inspires American sentiment. Thus, the hostility undoubtedly displayed towards British possessions on this continent; hence the active sympathy of the American people towards rebellious Cuba at present dominated by Spain. The greed for power and national vanity is at the bottom of all this antagonism. The Americans long for a more extended outlet for their restless energies. President Cleveland too well understands how the pulse of the Republic beats on these questions. The undisguised antagonism to Great Britain and Spain but voices the deep-seated aspirations of Americanism. Hence the enthusiasm which Cleveland's message evoked in the Washington Senate and House of Representatives, and the indecent haste attending the passage of the boundary commission bill. This boundary contention has furnished the occasion for fastening a quarrel upon the British Empire—a quarrel that may be fomented and enlarged as opportunity or interest shall dictate. Is the contemplated elevation of Cleveland to the post of President for the third time to be accepted as the signal for an outburst of annexation fury not to be controlled? These are searching

questions. Great Britain is not regarded as a generous but a hated rival of the commercial and manufacturing interests of the United States. It may possibly be imagined that the period has arrived when the American Republic may throw off the mask and assert its supreme continental authority! If such be the case, how futile would arbitrations or national treaties become.

Lord Salisbury has refused arbitration in the Venezuela squabble. In view of the tremendous consequences involved in an open diplomatic rupture with the United States some form of composition may be advised by European powers who might offer their good services. The American Congress is now about to address itself to the intricate financial problems before it, and will not, in view of the general gravity of the situation, adjourn for the holidays. Some way out of the tangled web of financial difficulty which involves the American fiscal policy must be found if the nation is to adhere to gold values. But, if pushed too hard, and the Government is forced to countenance the suspension of specie payments, the investors in American securities would severely suffer. The suspension, too, of diplomatic relations with England would then be the occasion for a general repudiation. The action of the sponge on the black-board of a country school, would then be no less effective to obliterate what is written thereon than a war would be to cancel past pecuniary obligations. Do Cleveland and the Congress desire by this open rebuff to England to familiarise the people with the idea of War as a final and necessary appeal?

25. Decr. 1895.

THE VENEZUELAN BOUNDARY DISPUTE.

The New York Nation discusses the Venezuela boundary dispute in its relation to international law. It opens in this way:—

"A careful study of executive documents, No. 226, of the Fiftieth Congress, first session, wherein the President transmits to Congress the correspondence relating to the pending boundary dispute between Venezuela and British Guiana, discloses only a single issue; and this, in the clear light of international law, proves to be a very simple one, upon which no two intelligent arbitrators will be likely to disagree. The single issue is whether Spain, by merely discovering, without settling or occupying, the disputed Guiana coast, acquired such a title to the back lying territory that every subsequent actual settlement of such territory by the Dutch became wrongful, and whether only occasional armed protests by Spain, at intervals of years or centuries, were necessary to maintain her title, without any interval of permanent occupation by the Spanish from 1531 until to-day. In short, does discovery without occupation give title against those who permanently occupy, but had not the good fortune originally to discover?"

It is, therefore, as it holds, a question of law mainly if not entirely, the Venezuelans themselves basing their right on Spanish discovery and that only. To make this plain, it proceeds:—

"In order to be assured that this is all there is of the Venezuelan question, it is to be observed that the diplomats who have at various times had charge of the case for Venezuela do not deny the continuous possession of the disputed territory by the Dutch alone for three centuries, but treat it as usurpation, intrusion, and aggression. Nor do the Venezuelan diplomats allege, except in the case of a few missionaries to the Indians between 1531 and 1580, that any Spanish residents or persons rendering allegiance to Spain, have ever gone into the disputed territory, except small

armed expeditions coming by land or sea to drive out or capture the Dutch. The sole tendency towards settlement of the country in dispute has been from the direction of Georgetown and the Essequibo River. The historians, geographers, mapmakers and publicists, from Raleigh to Humboldt, if they have carried the Dutch boundary westward to the Orinoco, the Moroco, or the Barima, have talked about the Dutch possession or occupation; if they have carried the Spanish line eastward to Essequibo, they have in no case declared it to be a Spanish occupation, but only a domain or sovereignty or supposed abstract right. And when (Ex. Dec. 226, p. 34) Lord Salisbury in 1880 writes to Senor Rojas that to recognize Venezuelan "proprietaryship to the Essequibo would involve the abandonment of a province inhabited in 1880 by 40,000 British subjects, and which has been in the uninterrupted possession of Holland and Great Britain successively for two centuries—we find Venezuela replying in 1882 through Senor Seijas (p. 32) that to deliver up territories in which populations have been founded cannot help producing grievances; in that, all the world is in accord. But the convenient is not the right, neither can it be confounded with it. He who has occupied a thing not his own, remains with the obligation to restitute it whenever it is demanded of him, and to indemnify all the damages consequent upon the illicit act. Inasmuch as the Venezuelan lawyers do not instance the building of a single town, or fort, or trade agency, or the occupancy by any Spanish settlers of the territory in dispute at any point, but confine themselves to recounting the encroachments and intrusions of the Dutch, the inference from the record is that no Spanish settlements occurred, and hence that the question is one between occupancy by one nation and naked claim of right to occupy without actual occupancy by another."

It is accordingly strictly a question of international law that is in issue, and the Nation does not hesitate to decide in favor of the British contention. The Venezuelans having appealed to Vattel, the Nation goes to Vattel and quotes what he says. It is

20-2-1912

true that Vattel says (Book II., chap. 7) that a discovering country need not occupy the whole of the territory, but can select points to occupy, "but," as the Nation says, "this text clearly refers to the case of a country having a master or government and established boundaries, within which some places are left unoccupied." It proceeds:—

"Vattel places in another category a newly discovered continent in which rival countries are obtaining title by occupancy. Of such a country he says (Book II., ch. vii.):—'If two or many nations discover and possess at the same time an island, or any other desert land, without a master, they ought to agree between themselves, and make equitable partition; but if they cannot agree, each will have the right of empire and domain of the parts in which they first settled:—

"It may happen that a nation may be contented with possessing only certain places, or appropriating to itself certain rights, in a country that has not a master, and be little desirous of possessing the whole country. In this case another may take what the first has neglected," etc.

The Venezuelan lawyers declare that the expedient is not necessarily the just, and plead that the Spanish could, without occupancy themselves, treat the occupancy by the Dutch as usurpation for an indefinite period. Vattel, on the contrary, expressly bases the doctrine that territorial titles between nations can arise by prescription—i. e. by lapse of time with possession adverse to the right—on the inexpediency of allowing old possessions to be ripped up, and settled populations to be compelled either to give up their homes or to come under a new allegiance. He says (p. 289):—

"Nature has not herself established property, and in particular with regards to lands, she only approves this introduction for the advantage of the human race. It would be absurd, then, to say that, domain and property being once established, the law of nature can secure to a proprietor any right capable of introducing disorder into human society. Such would be the right of entirely neglecting the thing that belongs to him, of leaving it during a long space of time, under all the appearance of being properly abandoned, or that does not belong to him, and of coming at length to deprive an honest possessor of it, who has perhaps acquired a title to it by burdensome conditions. . . . Were it permitted to have constantly as-

course to ancient times, there are very few sovereigns who would enjoy their rights in security, and there would be no peace to be hoped for on earth."

What Vattel here condemns, namely having recourse to ancient times to upset the effect of centuries of possession adverse to their claim of sovereignty, is exactly the case of the Venezuelans. During all the reigns from Philip II. to Philip V. of Spain, the Netherlands, which owned Dutch Guiana, were themselves under Spanish domination, as was also the present Venezuelan dependency. If Spain, when in full control of both parties to the contention, did not think it worth while to require the Dutch to retire behind the Essequibo, it would be a marvellous stretch of authority for Venezuela to disturb three centuries of possession, by the Dutch and their successors at this late day."

In addition to all of which it is to be noted that the independence of Venezuela was only recognized by Spain in 1845—and Venezuela can, therefore, only claim what was Spanish territory at that date. And long before 1845 Great Britain had occupied, without protest from Spain, nearly all the territory now claimed by Venezuela. Supposing it to have originally been Spanish territory—of which, as the Nation shows, there is not a vestige of proof—Spain had clearly abandoned it to Holland and Great Britain decades before Venezuela was in a position to claim title as Spain's heir-at-law. If Venezuela can legally claim territory that at any time previous to 1845 was claimed by Spain, even though Spain had abandoned it, or being abandoned by it, then its territory is a very large one indeed, including a very large part of the United States, all of Mexico and Central America, and more than half of the South American continent. Such a contention is absurd on its face. Venezuela can only claim territory owned and occupied by Spanish people in 1845, when the independence of Venezuela was recognized by the Spanish Government.



The Mail
Dec. 26. 95.



IN CASE OF WAR.

NAVAL STATIONS OFF THE ATLANTIC SEABOARD.

Four Weighty Arguments Considered From a United States Standpoint—Bermuda, Halifax, Jamaica, and St. Lucia—The Part They Would Play in Case of an Outbreak.

Now that all the world is talking about the possibility of a war between the United States and Great Britain, says the *New York Times*, it becomes a matter of extreme interest to consider from what points, as bases of supply and operation, England would conduct a campaign against this country. It is not even necessary to believe that hostilities are among the probabilities of the immediate future to make this matter one of the most personal consequence to the people of the United States. An ending to this controversy, satisfactory in that it is peaceful, may be reached without decreasing in any degree the value to us of an appreciation of certain dangers to which the United States are now exposed, and to which they always will be exposed in case of a misunderstanding too serious to be cleared up by diplomacy between the two great English-speaking nations. There are four places whence England would, or at least could, send her ships against the cities of our Atlantic coast, to which they could retire for repairs and new supplies of coal and ammunition. In case the first stock proved insufficient for her purpose, and in which, in safety more or less complete, they could lie while making plans or awaiting orders. These four places, in the order of their importance—to Great Britain as sources of strength, and to us as causes for apprehension—are Hamilton, Bermuda; Halifax, Nova Scotia; Kingston, Jamaica; and Castles, on the Island of St. Lucia.

Shakespeare spoke of "the ever vexed Bermoothes", which shows that he knew little about them and that little wrong. Should the United States go to war with England, their citizens would soon be referring to the islands, not as "ever vexed," but "ever vexing." At present Americans regard Bermuda simply as a delightful place in which to spend a winter holiday, and as the region

from which comes an amazing quantity of mild-tempered onions and particularly commendable new potatoes. This view is even more inaccurate than Shakespeare's. He having heard, perhaps, of the storm which drove Juan Bermudez's ship upon the coral reefs in 1522, and so immortalized that reluctant Spaniard's name by wrecking him there, concluded that constant tempests swept an island whose climate is, on the contrary, one of almost ideal serenity. On equally insufficient data, the people of America regard the little congeries of islets as a combination of pleasure resort and vegetable garden, kindly maintained by England for our especial and practically exclusive benefit.

In reality, Bermuda, to the Britishers always, as it would be to us in time of war, is simply a great naval station lying off New York bay, and comprising a perfect harbour in which every warship England owns can lie at anchor; a floating dock in which any one of those vessels can be prepared for swift cruising; a machine shop where repairs of every kind can be made; an enormous arsenal always filled with war munitions of all sorts, and a coal heap as big as a mountain—all this protected by a score of forts that have been building for centuries and are now of a strength realized only by the English officers and soldiers, who alone have been permitted to enter them, and all this, too, less than three days' steaming distance from the United States coast. This difference in point of view is startling—or should be.

Bermuda's geographical position is—latitude 32, 20 north; longitude 64, 50 west. In more comprehensible terms, it lies 600 miles out in the Atlantic, due east from Cape Hatteras, and just beyond the Gulf Stream. It is an archipelago, rather than an island, or it may be considered as an imperfect coral atoll, the ring of land being of irregular shape, on all sides but one much broken up by narrow passages and consisting of submerged reefs, or of bars rising a few inches or feet above the surface of the sea.

A steamer from New York approaches Bermuda from the northward, and passing along down the eastern reefs, turns sharply towards the west, and then enters the only practicable channel leading into the interior lagoon. In traversing this passage—a narrow and difficult one—a vessel is constantly at the mercy of forts of the strongest and most modern kind, which stand close to

Handwritten text, possibly a signature or title, with a horizontal line below it.

each other along its western side all the way from St. David's Head to Murray's Anchorage. Until these forts were silenced, the captain of no ship, however heavily armoured it might be, would think of attempting to force an entrance here, for no ship ever built could endure at so close range the plunging fire that would pour into it from St. David's Head, Fort Cunningham, the battery on Paget's Island, New Fort, Fort William, Fort Albert, Fort Victoria, and Fort Catherine. At Chub Cut, on the north-western side of the lagoon, is another entrance, but it is so narrow and tortuous, so shallow and so filled with sunken reefs, as to be impassable, except in the calmest weather by small boats with native fishermen for pilots. As a matter of fact, Chub Cut is a "no thoroughfare."

The fortifications just mentioned were not made to protect the onlon beds of Bermuda, or the big hotel that forms the glory of Hamilton, the capital of the islands. Their only purpose is to prevent approach by any hostile force to the great dockyard that covers an islet in almost the exact centre of the encircling coral reefs. This is a place where neither tourists nor the native population are allowed to enter, and no descriptions of Bermuda except those in the War Office, at London, give any but the most vague idea of what it contains. All that can be said is that a great floating dock lies there beside a magnificently equipped machine shop, and that the various buildings near by contain an unknown amount of coal, of arms, and of explosives. In front is Grassy bay, an excellent anchorage, where the English warships lie safe from every storm, and four miles away, beyond the peninsula that ends in Spanish Point, is Hamilton, on a bay of its own and protected by the hills to the southward.

Except through the Narrows, guarded by the forts, an enemy's fleet cannot approach this dockyard nearer than five miles to the south-east, six miles from south around to north, and from eight to fifteen on the north-east. The whole southern side of the main island is practically a continuous fortification, for along the cliff runs a protected roadway, where cannon can be posted within a few hours. In every other direction the reefs form a sufficient defence. The dockyard, therefore, is beyond the reach of direct attack. From it fleet after fleet could be dispatched, and to it they could return. To capture the forts at the Narrows would be a task of immense difficulty, just how great it is impossible to say, for their armament can only be guessed at. It is undoubtedly of the strongest kind, and the capture of Gibraltar would probably be, in comparison, an easy undertaking.

Bermuda, it will thus be seen, could not fail to be of the utmost value to England in case of a war

with the United States, and to the latter a constant source of danger and embarrassment. Its position takes away from us, in great measure, the advantage of fighting an enemy far from his supply of coal and from his base of operations. During the civil war we felt some of the disadvantages which arise from Bermuda's existence, for then it was a favourite resort of Confederate blockade runners, and there they awaited in safety, thanks to British sympathy, a favourable opportunity to break through the cordon of Union ships. What it would be with England herself as a combatant can easily be calculated.

In direct and constant communication with Bermuda—by means of a submarine cable—is the second strategic point to which reference has been made. This is Halifax, the capital of Nova Scotia. The city stands on the declivity of a hill facing a harbour whose only fault is its habit of occasionally freezing over more or less completely, and so making temporary prisoners of any vessels that may be caught within it. The citadel back of the town is a strong one, and there are other forts scattered around the bay. Approach from the sea an enemy would find difficult, but by land the town could be approached and invested with good chances of success by any army large enough to maintain itself against the somewhat problematical opposition of the Canadians.

Halifax bay extends inland some sixteen miles, and opposite the city is about one mile wide. There are two passages into the harbour, one on each side of McNab's Island. The western entrance is commanded by Fort George and several batteries; the eastern, which can be entered only by small vessels, lies under the guns of Fort Clarence. The town is England's chief naval station in North America, and the only one garrisoned by English troops. The Government dockyard covers fourteen acres and is equipped in the most complete manner. The armament of the forts, too, is thoroughly modern. Strong as the place undoubtedly is, however, its capture would be by no means impossible, and, if besieged, the place would lose much of its value to England long before its garrison capitulated.

In case of war, of course the United States would attack Halifax both by land and sea, and as an almost limitless number of men could be directed against this point, it would no doubt soon be made harmless to us, and possibly dangerous, before much time had passed, to the present owners. In this respect, the place is much less of a menace than Bermuda is, since the latter could be attacked only by means of ships. Whether the United States would have any to spare from coast-defence work is a question which it is hardly necessary to discuss.



From Jamaica, the chief and only intrinsically important British possession in the West Indies, England would threaten our Southern ports almost as effectively as she would those of the north from Bermuda. The harbour of Kingston is one of the finest in the world; but the fortifications around it, while fairly numerous, are of no great strength. The place would be of value as a coaling station and as a base of operations directed either into the Gulf of Mexico or toward what used to be called the Spanish Main, that is, toward Venezuela.

Remaining to be considered is St. Lucia, a most important point in the present controversy, since the first overt acts of hostility, if any occur, may be expected to take place somewhere on the disputed line between Venezuela and British Guiana. England probably values St. Lucia above all her other West Indian possessions, not because the island is of any worth in itself, but because in it is the only safe and easily defensible harbour to be found among all the Lesser Antilles. Of these St. Lucia is farthest south of any, except little Grenada and little Tobago. To the eastward lies Barbados, to the north the chain of islands which ends with St. Thomas and includes St. Vincent, Dominica, Montserrat, St. Kitts, and Antigua, and to the south St. Lucia as a base of defence, for there alone can coal be stored in safety, ready for any emergency, and in times of peace saleable at a big profit in small quantities to the merchantmen of all the world.

The town of Castries—named after Louis XVI.'s Minister of Marine—lies at the inner extremity of a deep bay, small, but protected from every wind, and with water enough to float the largest vessels. The entrance to this harbour is a narrow one, flanked on either side by high, steep hills. To the observer from a steamer's deck these hills show no signs of fortifications, except some ruined towers on their summits. These are relics of Spanish days, and serve no purpose, unless it be to add a touch of the picturesque to the landscape and to make stray tourists wonder why England allows the place to go undefended. Beneath these crumbling towers, however, and under the apparently undisturbed surface of the hill-sides, are vast corridors, in which, adroitly masked, lie great cannon by the score, ready to hurl iron by the ton against any hostile ship that may approach the precious heap of coal on the wharf further down the bay. This wharf is of stone, and beside it the largest warship can be moored,

Behind the coal heap is the little town, inclosed on every side by mountains on which are the barracks and the houses of a few white people. Back of these are more mountains in tumbled confusion, an uncultivated tropical wilderness. Castries makes a beautiful picture, but as a place to live in one shudders to think of it. The heat is insufferable, since the trade winds can never reach the low-lying village, and nine out of ten of the inhabitants are West Indian negroes—that is to say, idle, insolent, and happy semi-savages.

The secrets of the fortifications are guarded with almost ludicrous care. Foreign visitors are welcomed and most hospitably entertained, so long as they keep outside the forbidden territory and do not show either inquisitiveness or kodaks, but the cordiality is all of the thus-far-and-no-further kind and—the sentinels carry loaded guns. A stranger can get shot without half trying in the outskirts of Castries.

The four places that have been briefly and of necessity imperfectly described will play important roles in the discussions and negotiations of the next few months, and still more serious ones if war should be the outcome of English aggression and American resistance to it. Not one of them can be left out of any argument made by either side. They do not, indeed, threaten the existence, or even the prosperity, of the United States, but, none the less, it is hard to see just what the United States possesses to counterbalance, at least immediately the strength which England derives from naval stations so strong for offense and for defence, and so close to an almost wholly unprotected coast.

28. Decr. 95.

THE CAUSE OF ALL THE WAR TALK.

The Venezuela Dispute From Various Standpoints.

MONROE AND HIS DOCTRINE.

Text of the Message That Made Him Famous

And Set Two Great Nations by the Ears Two Generations After He Died—The London Times' Review of the Situation

Who was Monroe and what is the Monroe doctrine as applied to the Venezuelan difficulty? Perhaps these questions have been more frequently asked in Canada during the past ten days than any others. They can best be answered by the reproduction of the message presented to the Congress of the United States on December 2nd, 1823, by President James Monroe in view of the possibility of European aggression and the seizing of the American possessions then fast slipping out of the hands of Spain and Portugal.

The Monroe doctrine was set forth in the following words:—

"It was stated at the commencement of the last session that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal to improve the condition of the people of those countries, and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked that the result has been, so far, very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe, with which

we have so much intercourse, and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defence. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments, and to the defence of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted.

KERNEL OF THE DOCTRINE.

"We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But, with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. In the war between those new Governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur, which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

"The late events in Spain and Portugal show that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact no stronger proof can be adduced than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on any principle

2002

satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed by force in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried, on the same principle, is a question in which all independent powers whose Governments differ from theirs are interested, even though remotely, and surely none more so than the United States.

NO INTERESTS IN EUROPE.

Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government de facto as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm and manly policy; meeting, in all instances, the just claims of every power; submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to those continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new governments and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves in the hope that the other powers will pursue the same course.

If we compare the present condition of our Union with its actual state at the close of our revolution, the history of the world furnishes no example of a progress in improvement in all the important circumstances which constitute the happiness of a nation which bears any resemblance to it. At the first epoch our population did not exceed 1,600,000. By the last census it amounted to about 10,000,000, and, what is more extraordinary, it is almost altogether native; for the emigration from other countries has been inconsiderable. At the first epoch half of the territory within our acknowledged limits

was uninhabited and a wilderness. Since then new territory has been acquired of vast extent, comprising within it many rivers, particularly the Mississippi, the navigation of which to the ocean was of the highest importance to the original States. Over this territory our population has expanded in every direction, and new States have been established almost equal in number to those which formed the first land of our Union. This expansion of our population and accession of new States to our Union have had the happiest effect on all its high and internal interests.

That it has eminently augmented our resources and added to our strength and respectability as a power is admitted by all. But it is not in these important circumstances only that this happy effect is felt. It is manifest that by enlarging the basis of our system and increasing the number of our States the system itself has been greatly strengthened in both its branches. Consolidation and disunion have thereby been rendered equally impracticable. Each Government, confiding in its own strength, has less to apprehend from the others, and, in consequence, each enjoying a greater freedom of action, is rendered more efficient for all the purposes for which it was instituted. It is unnecessary to treat here of the vast improvement made in the system itself by the adoption of this constitution, and of its happy effect in elevating the character and in protecting the rights of the nation as well as of individuals. To what, then, do we owe these blessings? It is known to all that we derive them from the excellence of our institutions. Ought we not, then, to adopt every measure which may be necessary to perpetuate them?"

THE APPLICATION.

In these terms the Monroe doctrine was promulgated. As the reader must have observed, its application was to be confined to the upholding against oppression or conquest by European powers of peoples who had declared and maintained their independence. With the existing colonies or dependencies of European powers interference was expressly barred. The applicability of the doctrine to a boundary dispute between Britain and Venezuela is denied by Lord Salisbury in courteous but altogether unmistakable terms. The circumstances of this dispute, therefore, are of the utmost importance in enabling the reader to form an opinion as to the wisdom or unwisdom of applying the Monroe doctrine to its solution. These are set out in a memorandum by Mr. Scruggs, formerly Minister of the United States to Venezuela, in which he says:—

"On the northeastern shores of the South American continent, extending westward to the Orinoco and southward to the influents of the Amazon, is a vast and fertile though as yet but sparsely populated region, known as the Guayanas. A portion of this territory was ceded to England by Holland in 1814. A very much larger and more desirable portion of it belongs to the Republic of Venezuela, as the successor in title of Spain in 1810. The precise boundary between Holland and Spain, though plainly inferable from historical facts, was never definitely fixed by treaty, and in 1887 the dispute as to the boundary, which first arose in 1827, resulted in the rupture of official relations between England and Venezuela.

THE CLAIM OF VENEZUELA.

"Venezuela, as the successor in title of Spain, supports her claim to the territory west of the Essequibo River, and thence southward to the Brazilian border, by a long array of historical facts, which I briefly summarize as follows:—By the treaty of Munster, between Spain and Holland, of 1648; by official notes of the Spanish colonial Government of Cumana, of 1742; by the Spanish-Portuguese treaty of 1750; by the correspondence passed between the Spanish colonial Government and the authorities of the adjacent Dutch colony east of the Essequibo, in 1758; by the Royal Spanish schedules of 1768; by official records of the Spanish Cabinet, 1769; by official instructions from the Cabinet at Madrid to the Spanish colonial authorities in Guayana, 1779; by the order in Council issued by the Spanish Cabinet in 1780; by the official reports of the Royal Spanish Colonial Commission of 1788; by the treaty of Aranjuez, of 1791, between Spain and Holland; by the official correspondence of the Dutch West India Company of 1794; by the official correspondence of the British diplomatic agent in Caracas, in 1835, acknowledging Venezuela's right of domain on the Atlantic coast east of the Orinoco delta; by the formal acknowledgment, in 1841, by a British law court in Demerara, of Venezuela's undisputed jurisdiction over the Moroco River; and by a similar formal acknowledgment by the authorities of British Guayana (Gulana) as late as 1874.

THE BRITISH CONSTRUCTION.

"Against this claim England sets up a counter-claim, likewise based upon historical facts, as follows:—That two forts of a temporary character, called 'New Zealand' and 'New Middleburgh,' were erected by the Dutch on the Pomaron River (some leagues west of the Essequibo) in 1657, thereby showing that the Dutch laid claim to that territory; by concessions alleged to have been made to a Dutch company in that vicinity in 1674; by the armed conflict between some Dutch and Spanish colonists on the Pomaron River in 1737, in which, it is claimed, the Spaniards were defeated and driven away, and finally, by some pretended treaty between Great Britain and the Indians (names and dates not given), whereby England engaged to protect the Indians against white encroachments.

"Previous to 1840 Great Britain had not extended her occupancy beyond the Pomaron River, nor even intimated any purpose to lay claim to territory west or south of that river. Suddenly, in the latter part of that year, she made an attempt to plant a colony farther westward, and set up a ridiculous claim to the entire Atlantic coast as far as the Orinoco delta. In 1844 she receded from this position and proposed a divisional line, beginning a little westward of the Pomaron River. In 1881 she again removed the starting point of a divisional line 29 miles west

of the Moroco River, thus claiming the valleys of both rivers. In 1886 she again shifted position and claimed to the margin of the Guiana River. In 1890 she shifted position again and proposed a divisional line beginning at the junction of the Amacuro west of the Moroco River, thus claiming practical control of the Orinoco delta. Finally, in 1893, still advancing westward and southward into what had never before been disputed as Venezuelan territory, she gravely proposed a conventional boundary line beginning at the mouth of the Amacuro, and running so as to include the head waters of the Cumano, and thence to the Sierra of Usupanio."

THE TIMES' REVIEW.

The London Times of Dec. 18, two days after the beginning of the war talk resulting from President Cleveland's message advising interference in the dispute, printed the following review of the situation from the standpoint of English official opinion. The article, which is an extremely moderate and temperate statement of the situation, is as follows:—

"Probably many of our readers possess none but a very vague conception of the nature of the frontier dispute between British Gulana and Venezuela, in which the Government of the United States has recently taken such a lively interest. Its details cannot easily be explained except by constant reference to a good map, but the general merits of the case may be understood from the admirable historical summary given by Lord Salisbury in the reply to Mr. Olney, which we publish to-day. The American mode of stating the case is to accept the whole of the Venezuelan contentions without any attempt at verification, but Mr. Olney's theorizing looks rather foolish when placed in contrast with the facts of history. It is to be borne in mind in the first place that neither this country nor Venezuela has any original claim to the territory, or can show any very long history of possession. We derive it through the Dutch, from whom we wrested the establishment of Demerara, Essequibo and Berbice as nearly as possible a century ago. Venezuela derives from the Spaniards, whose yoke was shaken off early in the present century. In 1796, as on a previous occasion when the Dutch colonies were occupied, this country claimed a frontier beginning considerably to the west of Barima, on the Orinoco, and including practically the whole basin of the Essequibo River. By the treaty of 1814 the results of the war were definitely sanctioned, the Spanish Government being a party to the negotiations and raising no question as to the boundary claimed by Great Britain. Venezuela was at the time in revolt against the Spaniards, but had not obtained recognition of its independence. Neither in 1814 nor in 1819, when Venezuela was merged in the United States of Colombia, was any question raised by either as to the validity of the frontier which the Spaniards tacitly accepted. On the contrary, the United States of Colombia frankly



acknowledged their indebtedness to Great Britain for her friendly attitude, and when in 1820 Venezuela set up on its own account as an independent republic it was equally warm in its expressions of friendship and equally silent upon frontier questions. At that time, consequently, we had a prescription of 35 years in favor of our claims, or of 50 years if we count from the first British occupation of the Dutch settlements in 1781. In the Venezuelan constitution, promulgated in 1830, there was no attempt to assail frontier arrangements as laid down by the British Government. The constitution merely defined Venezuelan territory as being coextensive with what the Spaniards had called the Captaincy-General of Venezuela. Such a declaration naturally has no binding force unless formally agreed to by other nations interested. It is not an international instrument, but it is interesting as giving the extreme measure of what Venezuela at that time claimed.

BOUNDARY NEVER DEFINED.

"We start, then, in 1830 with a certain boundary claimed before the whole world, admitted without objection from any quarter by the treaty of 1814, and not called in question by Venezuela, even in the pride of her novel independence. What that boundary was cannot readily be understood without a map, but it may suffice at present to say that it included a great deal more than the Schomberg frontier traced in 1840, and now maintained by this country as delimiting territory, about which there can be no dispute. The Captaincy-General of Venezuela was never defined by the Spaniards except in vague terms which, if they meant anything, ignored the existence of Dutch settlements, and would assign to Venezuela Dutch and French as well as British Guiana, together with a large slice of Brazil. But, while we have no Spanish definition of Venezuela, we have very distinct and definite Dutch definitions of their Guiana settlements. These Dutch claims, never seriously called in question by the Spanish Government, include the entire basins of the Essequibo and Cuyuni Rivers—in other words, all that this country has ever claimed and much more than what it now declines to submit to arbitration. The territory about which we admit no question is that enclosed by the Schomberg line, and that line was drawn awfully far inside of the Dutch claim, in accordance with clear evidence of effective Dutch occupation excluding all trace of Spanish influence. The practical abandonment of much to which in strictness we had a good title was dictated by a desire to make things pleasant for Venezuela and to obtain a

final settlement, including confirmation of our right to Barima, a place much coveted by the Venezuelans. We stipulated at the same time that the territory to which we surrendered a claim unquestioned for half a century should not be ceded by Venezuela to any foreign State, and that the native tribes resident within it should be protected from oppression. Venezuela made no answer to these proposals for six years, and they were finally withdrawn. By what is called the agreement of 1850 both parties undertook to abstain from active operations in the territory between the Schomberg line and the original Dutch frontier, but this agreement has been repeatedly infringed and set at naught by the Venezuelans.

"Since 1850 negotiations have several times been renewed with the hope of settling the whole matter on an amicable footing. In the course of these negotiations this country has committed what is probably always a mistake in dealing with a weak and obstinate power. It has varied its demands and offered concessions. A map giving a complete picture of the negotiations shows a bewildering confusion of frontiers proposed at different times. The only result of this complaisance is that the Venezuelans have set up a claim to the whole country right up to the Essequibo—in other words, to territory which beyond all doubt or question has been in continuous Dutch or English occupation for 200 years. The American Government now argues with surprising disingenuousness that this country has never had any consistent theory of its rights but has been gradually enlarging its claims. It has certainly been obliged to narrow its concessions on the inner side of the Schomberg line, because, while the Venezuelans were delaying and procrastinating, British subjects settled in these regions and cannot now be abandoned. But it cannot be too clearly understood that we have never receded from the contention that our full claim is what we inherited from the Dutch and held unquestioned until 1830, while the claim upon which we insist as a minimum not open to arbitration is the much smaller one of the Schomberg frontier. From the frontier outwards to the old Dutch boundary we are ready to arbitrate, and have been ready upon terms more or less favorable to Venezuela any time for the last 50 years. Nor must it be supposed that the territory thus thrown open to arbitration is valueless. The contrary is the case, as is well known by the American concession-hunters who swarm in Caracas and are responsible for much of the excitement in Venezuela."



THE DAILY MAIL

28. Decr. 1895.

"CANADIAN JINGOES."

The phrase which stands at the head of this article is taken from last Saturday's issue of the Montreal Witness. It is to be regretted that any such phrase should find its way into a Canadian newspaper, and especially one of the respectability and influence of the Witness. There are none among us deserving the designation. None of our people here desire war, especially with our kinsmen and neighbours in the United States.

As they have done nothing in the past to bring about such a calamity, neither are they disposed to do so at present. If such a war must come, it will not be with our choice, it will be forced upon us, and we shall have this to comfort us at least, that we shall be chargeable with none of the infamy connected with it. But deeply as we should deprecate such a calamity, we cannot call evil good, or act contrary to our judgment and conscience, in order to avoid it. Canada and the other colonies on this hemisphere have just as good a right to exist as the United States. The original States were British colonies before they were States, and they would never have been States if they had not first been colonies. They chose to separate themselves from the parent State. Concerning the rights or wrongs of that separation it is not necessary to say anything in this place. It is worth while, however, to recall the fact that this was their act. They did it in the exercise of their free choice. They did it because they believed their own interests would be promoted by it, and that what they were doing was in their own interest. We claim at least as much liberty of choice for the future as the United States claimed for themselves.

This is our position ; and for this we take our stand, in no spirit of hostility to the United States, but simply in the maintenance of our unquestionable rights. This is the position of Canada, and it may be assumed to be that of the smaller colonies. We have no quarrel to pick with our neighbours. We do not envy them on account of their great prosperity. We are quite satisfied with our own country and our own lot. We have not so much segregated wealth as they have, but we have more distributed wealth. We have not so many millionaires according to our population, perhaps, but we have far fewer paupers. We have as large a measure of liberty as our neighbours have. We regard our government as better than theirs. Our administration of law is better, themselves being the witnesses. We enjoy, as the result of this, greater security of life and property than they do. We appreciate our neighbours as such, and desire to live on the most friendly terms with them. When they come among us they will always be welcome, and we shall try to make them feel at home. This, however, is not jingoism.



58

THE DAILY MAIL AND EMPIRE,

Dec. 30. 1895-

THE LAURIER-SIFTON CONFERENCE.

There can be no doubt that the sudden dissolution in Manitoba is one of the results of the conference held by Mr. Laurier and Mr. Sifton on Sunday, December 15. The Liberal leader and the Manitoba Government have from the first worked in unison. While Mr. Laurier has been thanking Providence in Quebec that he is not a fanatic opposed to what he describes as the rights of the minority, he has been quietly inspiring Mr. Greenway to decline to make the concessions which he says are required. While he has thundered against the complaining minority by way of Winnipeg, he has assumed a sympathetic attitude in Quebec, and has directed his co-religionists to look to Ottawa for the assistance which he says they ought to have, but which he has told Winnipeg not to give. When the complaint reached Ottawa the hon. gentleman voted that it be referred to the courts. But immediately he found that it was passing to the courts he protested against the consequent "delay" on the ground that it would inflame the public mind and disintegrate the Dominion. After the decision was reached in London Mr. Laurier stood up in Toronto and demanded immediate action. Of a commission he spoke in terms of ridicule. A commission was a mere expedient for doing nothing and looking wise, the prohibition commission, for example. What was wanted was immediate action. The remedial order was passed, but this did not mean anything; it was a simple transference of the question to Manitoba.

Manitoba, however, was advised to reject it on the ground that it asked too much. The Federal intimation that the remedial order was not as represented, namely, a demand for the restoration of the inefficient schools, or for the destruction of the national schools, was bad. It was a weak surrender of the rights of the minority. What was now needed was a commission of enquiry to find where the trouble is, and to say what Federal law should be passed. This would be "conciliation," and "the sunny way." It would not be "looking wise" and "doing nothing." It would not even mean "delay"; nor would it inflame the public mind or disintegrate the Dominion. Having reached this point the hon. gentleman has advised Mr. Greenway to go to the country on the cry of no conciliation and no surrender, and this at the very moment when he was advocating the election of McShane, not only to "ring the knell of boodling, boys," but to assure the re-establishment of Separate clerical schools in the West. Whatever may be the result in Manitoba, whatever may be the principles involved, we must not lose sight of Mr. Laurier's duplicity. The leader is engaged in a conspiracy of sectionalism, through which he expects to introduce his free trade and to bring his Tates and McShanes to the treasury, and the best minds in Canada must combine to frustrate him.

REMARKS

1840

DECEMBER 29, 1895.

ITS TENETS ARE PLAIN

MONROE DOCTRINE PRINCIPLES.

Salisbury's Contention That Their Recent Explanation Is Preposterous Furnishes a Text for
Elliott Anthony.

In the light of history the origin of the Monroe doctrine can hardly be attributed to George Canning, although he once gravely proposed to Richard Rush, our ambassador to the court of St. James, that in order to thwart the designs of the holy alliance Great Britain and the United States should become coparceners and issue a joint proclamation warning everybody to keep their hands off from the western hemisphere except themselves, and that they should as joint tenants, or tenants in common, enjoy the spoils and usufruct together. This scheme was a most taking one and received the hearty indorsement of almost every English statesman of that day, and when Lord Salisbury declares that the Monroe doctrine is preposterous and unworthy of a moment's notice he should be careful of his precedents. That "plan of campaign" failed because Mr. Rush proposed as a condition precedent to the issuing of the joint proclamation sequestering the western continent, that the English government should recognize the independence of the Spanish republics, so that these countries should not be regarded as *ferae naturae* and subject to "poachment." Canning prudently declined and the hunt was declared off. The Monroe doctrine did not spring up like Jonah's gourd, in a night, but was, and is, the growth of a popular conviction that it was impolitic for this continent to become a party to European disturbances, and that European monarchical institutions should not be allowed a foothold here.

Washington's Litterance.

Washington in his farewell address declared that Europe had a set of "primary interests" which to us have none or a very remote relation, and that it was unwise to assume any other attitude than that of absolute independence, and if we remain one people, says he, the period will not be far off before independent nations will find it hazardous to make acquisitions among us, and when we can then "choose peace or war, as our interests, guided by justice, shall counsel."

I need, it may be stated as a historic fact that when the declaration of independence was issued the idea immediately took root that America was designed for Americans, and that it was against all the principles of a reasonable form of government to allow any European people to acquire territory here and govern it abroad. Next of kin to this

idea was the one that this country would view with feelings of disquietude any attempt to establish a European system of government anywhere on this continent which might be used against us, and that for our own safety and self-protection we would oppose it in every way within our power. So firm did these ideas become fixed in our history that they not only became a part and parcel of our traditions, but a part of our very existence, and whether they ever became incorporated into the code of international law which the European nations have established for their intercourse and guidance is entirely immaterial.

If it becomes necessary it must form a separate chapter by itself. It is the common law of this country, however, and every President, from Washington to Cleveland, has recognized its binding force and upheld it in all of its aspects and in all its original and pristine purity.

Precepts of Jefferson.

As expounded by Jefferson, the Declaration of Independence made us a nation—"this sets our compass and points the course which we are to steer through the ocean of time opening upon us."

"Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs. America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe, and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have a system of her own separate and apart from that of Europe. While the last is laboring to become the domicile of despotism, our endeavor should surely be to make our hemisphere that of freedom."

In other words, as stated by Monroe in his message of Dec. 2, 1823, the United States contends for this principle so far as its rights and interests are concerned, to wit: that the American continents are no longer *ferae naturae*, but "by their free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers, and that any acquisition of territory on this continent by any European nation for the purpose of establishing their system of government here would be regarded as an invasion of our traditional rights, and an act hostile to this country."

Jefferson was a statesman of the most wonderful foresight and sagacity, and if there was any man in America who understood the true principles upon which this government was founded it was he who had drawn up and formulated the Declaration of Independence and launched it on the world.

The issue which was at that time up for trial was Republicanism vs. Absolutism and when the trial took place and verdict was rendered in our favor it was considered an imperative duty on the part of the people to see to it that that verdict should not be set aside or nullified and thereby destroyed by either force or fraud. It is very evident that Jefferson constantly bears in mind the obligations which we are under at the very commencement of our career,



and that he clearly discerned the necessity of withstanding the aggressions of all foreign powers upon this continent, and confining their operations and their experiments to those countries which nature had marked out for them by the well-defined limits which divide the land from the sea, and which are known as continents, over which they might exercise their dominion for all domestic purposes, while those which existed on the other side of the hemisphere should be exempted from their control.

Instance of Cuba and Mexico.

That this idea had very early taken possession of the mind of Jefferson is apparent from what he said in writing to the governor of Louisiana on Oct. 29, 1803, when he made use of this language: "The patriots of Spain have no warmer friends than the administration of the United States, but it is our duty to say nothing and to do nothing for or against either. If they succeed we shall be well pleased to see Cuba and Mexico remain in their present dependence, but very unwilling to see them in that of either France or England politically or commercially. We consider their interests and ours as the same and that the object of both must be to exclude all European influences from this hemisphere."

As time passed he became more pronounced in expressing himself, and on Aug. 4, 1820, he wrote to William Short as follows: "From many conversations with him (M. Correa, appointed minister of Brazil by the government of Portugal), I hope he sees and will promote in his new situation the advantages of a cordial fraternization among all the American nations, and the importance of their coalescing in an American system of policy, totally independent of and unconnected with that of Europe. The day is not distant when we may formally require a meridian of partition through the ocean which separates the two hemispheres, on the hither side of which no European gun shall ever be heard, nor an American on the other; and when during the rage of the eternal wars of Europe the lion and the lamb within our regions shall lie down together in peace. The principles of society there and here are radically different, and I hope no American patriot will ever lose sight of the essential policy of interdicting on the seas and territories of both Americas the ferocious and sanguinary contests of Europe. I wish to see this coalition begun."

Sentiments Expressed to Monroe.

In subsequent letters to President Monroe Mr. Jefferson expressed the following sentiments:

"I have ever deemed it fundamental for the United States never to take active part in the quarrels of Europe."

As late as October, 1823, he wrote to President Monroe thus:

"The question presented by the letters you have sent me is the most momentous which has ever been offered to my contemplation since that of independence. Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe, our second never to suffer Europe to meddle with

atlantic affairs. America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe and peculiarly her own. She should, therefore, have a system of her own separate and apart from that of Europe. The war in which the present proposition might engage us (the proposed intervention of the holy alliance in the affairs of the South American colonies) is not her war, but ours. Its object is to introduce and establish the American system of keeping out of our land all foreign powers; of never permitting those of Europe to intermeddle with affairs of our nations. It is to maintain our principle, not to depart from it. I could honestly join in the declaration proposed that we aim not at the acquisition of any of these possessions, but that we will oppose with all our means the forcible interposition of any other power, as auxiliary, stipendiary, or under any other form or pretext, and most especially their transfer to any power by conquest, cession or acquisition in any other way." All these sentiments were well known to Monroe before he issued his famous proclamation in his message of Dec. 2, 1823, in which he said that "Any attempt on the part of European powers to extend their systems to any portion of this hemisphere would be regarded by the United States as dangerous to our peace and safety and would accordingly be opposed"—"a platform of principles upon this important subject which has been approved by prominent statesmen of the country, from the day of its proclamation to the present time."

John Quincy Adams was at that time secretary of state, and wrote that portion of Monroe's message which announces and enunciates what is known as the Monroe doctrine.

Adams' Message to Congress.

Mr. Adams, after he became President, in his message to congress on March 15, 1826, took occasion to review to a certain extent these principles, and in answering the objections which had been urged against the enunciation of such radical ideas, says that, although it may give umbrage to the holy league of European powers, yet it must be recollected that those nations never stop for one moment to consider whether any of their measures will give umbrage to us or not, and that a decent respect for the memory of our fathers would constrain us to exercise equal courage in upholding the cherished principles of this republic, for the congress and administration of that day consulted their rights and duties and not their fears. Fully determined to give no heedless displeasure to any foreign power, the United States can estimate the probability of their giving it only by the right which any foreign state could have to take it, from their measures."

Mr. Webster upheld all of these positions, and in a speech of great power in April of the same year, 1826, said: "I look on the message of December, 1823, as forming a bright page in our history. I will neither help erase it or tear it out, nor shall it be by any act of mine blured or blotted. It did honor to the sagacity of the government, and I will not diminish that honor. It elevated the hopes and gratified the patriotism of the people. Over these hopes I will not bring a shadow, nor will I put that gratified patriotism to shame."

President Polk, in his annual message to congress on Dec. 2, 1845, said, among other things, that the "existing rights of every European nation should be respected; but it is due alike to our safety and our interests that the efficient protection of our law should be extended over our whole territorial limit, and that it should be distinctly



61
shameless to the world as our settled policy that no future European colony or dominion shall, with our consent, be placed or established on any part of the North American continent."

In 1862, when France was undertaking to seat Maximilian upon a throne of its own erection in Mexico after ruthlessly overturning the settled government of that country, Mr. Seward wrote to Mr. Motley, who was at that time our minister to Austria, as follows: "The President, moreover, believes that this popular opinion of the United States is just in itself and eminently essential to the progress of civilization on the American continent, which civilization, he believes, can and will, if left free from European resistance, work harmoniously together with advancing refinement on the other continents."

Custom Sanctioned by Time.

President Johnson said in his message to congress in 1865: "We should regard it a great calamity to ourselves, to the cause of good government and to the peace of the world, should any European power challenge the American people, as it were, to the defense of republicanism against foreign interference. We cannot foresee and are unwilling to consider what opportunities might present, what combinations might offer for our protection against designs inimical to our form of government. The United States desire to act in the future as they have ever acted heretofore. They never will be driven from that course but by the aggression of European powers. And we rely on the wisdom and justice of those powers to respect the system of noninterference which has so long been sanctioned by time, and which by its good results has proved itself to both continents."

Mr. Seward, as late as June 2, 1868, said in a letter to Mr. Kilpatrick, at that time the American minister to Chili, "We maintain and insist with all the decision and energy compatible with our existing neutrality, that the republican system which is accepted by the people in any one of those (that is, Spanish American) states shall not be wantonly assailed, and that it shall not be subverted as an end of a lawful war by European powers."

President Cleveland and his counsel of state do not seem to differ very much from their predecessors in regard to the question involved by the American policy of our government, although their methods of presenting the subject are much more vigorous and determined. They have raised the dignity of the state department and the presidential office to first-class powers, and have demonstrated the great capabilities of the English language. It is no wonder that Lord Salisbury was filled with blank astonishment when he read the message of the President, and that he complained bitterly of its "unscrupulous and overbearing tone."

Such language is not unusual with England's premier, and is becoming monotonous. It is medieval, and is the common form of speech which has been employed by English officials ever since the time of George the Third.

America Regarded as a Spoiled Child.

Whenever England has encroached upon our rights or committed outrages upon our people or our commerce, and we have remonstrated, we have been treated with scant courtesy, and her cabinet officers have been not only greatly surprised, but greatly annoyed, at our complaints and childish whims. Lord Grey once said: "If any one European nation were to act in the same manner, it could not escape war for a single year. We ourselves have been repeatedly on the verge of a quarrel with the United States. With no divergence of interest, but the strongest possible interest on both sides to maintain the closest friendship, we have more than once been on the eve of a quarrel; and that great calamity has now been avoided because the government of this country has had the good sense to treat the government of the United States much as we should have treated a spoiled child, and, though the right was clearly on our side, has yielded to the unreasonable pretensions of the United States. There is danger that this may be pushed too far and that a question may arise in which our honor and our interests will make concession on our part impossible."

Many of the questions which have arisen between this country and England have been such as to most keenly touch the national susceptibilities, but it is a fact, as Edward Everett says, that no dispatch has been written, no word uttered in a warmer tone than the occasion required, and that all of our intercourse has been conducted only in an earnest and dignified manner, such as becomes powerful states, treating important subjects courteously, gravely and temperately.

Mr. Everett was himself one of the most courteous and cultivated men of his time, but he, nevertheless, fell under the ban of England's critics for contending for our nation's expansion, and was followed in his retirement by showers of their curses. He revenged himself, however, by bringing to the attention of England their notions of international law by reminding them of their treatment of this country in her struggles with Napoleon, in which, among other things, he said:

After the short-lived peace of Amiens a new war of truly Titanic proportions broke out between France and England. In the progress of this tremendous struggle and for the purpose of mutual destruction as a succession of imperial decrees and royal orders in council were issued by the two powers, by which all neutral commerce was annihilated. Each of the great belligerents maintained that his adversary's decree was a violation of international law, and justified his own action on the ground of retaliation, which, of course as far as the neutral was concerned, was no justification, and between these great conflicting forces the rights and interests of the neutral were crushed.

Losses of a Hundred Millions.

Under these orders and decrees, it is estimated that \$100,000,000 of American property were swept from the ocean. Of the losses and sufferings of our citizens, it is weary to reckon for wars at courts of humanity have admitted all round the globe, there can be no question. 1,000,000 returned to the world, there were 500,000, and after one generation of the same sufferings had taken many of them, there were still 500,000. In the grave the government of King Louis Philippe in France acknowledged the wrong of the imperial regime by a late and partial acknowledgment of indemnification due to the neutral nations who were devastated and ruined by the war. Mr. Davis of Virginia.



England, in addition to the capture of our ships and the confiscation of their cargoes, had subjected the United States to the indignity of taking her seamen by impressment from our vessels, a practice which, in addition to its illegality, even under the law of England, and its cruelty, which have since caused it to be abandoned at home, often led to the impressment of our own citizens both naturalized and native. For this intolerable wrong (which England herself would not have endured a day from any foreign power) and for the enormous losses accruing under the orders in council, the United States not only never received any indemnification, but the losses and sufferings of a war of two years and a half duration, to which she was at length driven, were superadded.

These orders were at the time regarded by the liberal schools of British statesmen as unjust and oppressive toward neutrals, and though the eminent civilian, Sir William Scott (afterward Lord Stowell), who presided in the British court of admiralty and who had laid the foundations of a princely fortune by fees accruing in prize causes, deemed it "extreme indecency" to admit the possibility, that the orders in council could be in contravention of the public law, it is now the almost universal admission of the text writers that such was the case.

As late as 1847 the lord chief justice of England, afterward Lord Chancellor, used this remarkable language "of these orders in council, Napoleon had no right to complain, but they were grievously unjust to neutrals, and it is now generally allowed that they were contrary to the law of nations and to our own municipal law. These liberal admissions have come too late to repair the ruined fortunes or to heal the broken hearts of the sufferers; they will not recall to life the thousands who fell on hard fought fields in defense of their country's rights, but they do not come too late to rebuke the levity with which it is intimated that the United States stands at the august bar of public law, not as reasoning men, but as spoiled children, not too late to suggest the possibility to candid minds that the next generation may do us the like justice, with reference to more recent controversies."

The Case of Venezuela.

Venezuela was the first among the nations of the southern continent of America to raise the cry of liberty and declare its independence. It is the home of patriots, and is to-day the brightest example of absolute equality before the law of any of the southern republics. It is deeply to be regretted that it should be brought into collision with one of the most powerful and aggressive nations of Europe, and that it should, after enduring untold calamities, be compelled to fight for its existence and, perhaps, shed its blood to maintain its integrity.

At Caracas, in the museum of the university, in a beautiful room kept as the holiest of holies, according to Mr. Curtis, is a collection of relics as precious to the people as fragments of the true cross. There are Bolivar's clothing, his saddle, his spurs, his boots and books and every little memento of him that could be gathered up, including the coffin in which his remains were originally buried. There are paintings representing his past achievements on earth and his present glory in heaven, where he is surrounded by cherubim and seraphim covering his head with laurels. The most precious of all the relics is a portrait of George Washington sent to Bolivar in 1828 by George Washington Parke Curtis, with the inscription: "This picture of the liberator of North America is sent by his adopted son to him who acquired equal glory in South America," and on the public square of that city not far from a statue of Bolivar, stands a heroic figure of bronze with the simple inscription upon its pedestal of the name of Washington.

Venezuela is the home of great men and of valiant leaders, and among them is one who has taken a most conspicuous part in the redemption of his country and placing it in the front rank of South American republics. He has studied our institutions and has done his best to found similar ones there. In the palatial residence of Guzman Blanco, the uncrowned king of Venezuela, the pacificator and regenerator of that republic, is a magnificent portrait of James G. Blaine, whom he regards as the beau ideal of an American statesman, and around him are scattered everywhere evidences of the estimation in which he holds this country, in the shape of furniture, home fittings and home adornments.

Guzman Blanco's Virtues.

Guzman Blanco, who is known throughout the southern continent, is a son of Guzman, long the private secretary of Bolivar, and is now about 60 years of age. He added the name of Blanco to his baptismal name in honor of his mother. He became a soldier when a boy and led a successful revolution long before he had passed his youth. He is one of the most unique and picturesque characters of our time and has done much to redeem and regenerate his native land. He has made many improvements in the civil institutions of the country and is regarded as one of the most progressive statesmen that is now dominant in public affairs. He is a born leader of men, stern and unbending when necessary, and unyielding in his purposes. He has had great experience in both civil and military affairs, and would, no doubt, prove himself equal to almost any emergency. He possesses very liberal ideas and his inclinations are all favorable to this country. In view of all these things how true are the words of Webster, who, in closing his speech on the Panama mission in 1826, said: "We cannot be so blind, we cannot so shut up our senses and smother our faculties as not to see that in the progress and the establishment of South American liberty our own example has been among the most stimulating causes. In their emergencies they have looked to our experience, in their political institutions they have followed our models. In their deliberations they have looked to the presiding spirit of our own liberty. They have looked steadily in every adversity to the great northern light. In the hour of bloody conflict they have remembered the fields which have been consecrated by the blood of our own fathers, and when they have fallen they have wished only to be remembered with them as men who had acted their parts bravely for the cause of liberty in the western world."

This is not the time or occasion to go into details in regard to the course which England has pursued for years in endeavoring to obtain a foothold in Central and South America, but it presents a series of incidents, most extraordinary in their character and which have scarcely a parallel in modern times.

South American Policy.

There is scarcely a river or roadstead but what her ships have visited to take observations and plant forts and colonies, and scarcely an island which has risen above the ocean near the coast of South America but what she has laid claim to. Her settlements and dependencies can be found everywhere from Greytown to the mouth of the Amazon in the Atlantic, and from Tehuantepec to Valparaiso on the Pacific. Her policy seems to



have been to encourage adventurers to take up their abode among the Indians and natives, and when differences arise between them to intervene, claim damages for injuries to either person or property, and if the governments did not settle at once, to seize portions of their territory and hold the same, and the more uncertain the boundaries of their possessions the better.

She has at different times set up claims to the control of all the transit routes across the narrow portions of Central America, has seized the mouth of the San Juan, has established a protectorate over all Mosquitoland and the lagoons of Honduras, the Bluefields and the Belize, has seized the Bay Islands and the Tigre, and stands ready to contest with any nation, either foreign or domestic, the title to large portions of territory rightfully belonging to well-established and long-existing governments. She keeps constantly in her employ a corps of skillful and well-trained diplomats, whose chief business is to act as claim agents, to negotiate treaties and settle terms of indemnity, and what she cannot accomplish in one way she does in another. In speaking of this policy, Mr. Keasley says:

In settling with Guatemala, Great Britain secured a legal title for her settlers over all the land that they had encroached upon, making modern British Honduras some five times the size of the original Belize. The Bay Islands were, after they were seized, abandoned according to the terms of our demand, but it was dealing with Nicaragua England exhibited her skill and her audacity. The protectorate over the Mosquito shore was nominally given up, but it was so arranged that the Indians were to be left unmolested in a so-called reserve, covering about the same area as their quondam independent kingdom. Within those limits the Mosquito Indians were to exercise full power of local government, and for ten years the State of Nicaragua was to pay them an annual indemnity. Greytown was, furthermore, constituted a free port, practically beyond Nicaragua's control, but it was provided that certain custom duties should be levied there to meet the Mosquito indemnity. Finally in case Nicaragua should attempt to interfere in any way with the autonomy of the Indian reservation, or should fail to pay the indemnity at the appointed times, Great Britain reserved to herself the right to interfere in behalf of her former allies. To put it briefly, England abandoned her positive protectorate with one stroke of the pen and immediately re-established a negative protectorate with another, and Nicaragua, left to her own devices, was forced to agree to the terms.

England Resumes Control.

As might have been expected, Nicaragua failed to keep her promises to Great Britain in regard to the Mosquito reserve, and the promised indemnity fell into arrears. Great Britain waited long enough to secure a good case, and then, in 1881, had the matter laid before the Emperor of Austria for arbitration. The decision was of course in her favor, as Nicaragua had certainly violated the terms of the treaty. Nicaragua's right of sovereignty over the Mosquito Indians and their reserve was now even more explicitly denied by the imperial arbitrator, and England was furthermore given explicit power to interfere in their behalf. There upon the English authorities more openly resumed control over Mosquito land and continued to rule over the reservation as before in the name of the Mosquito chief.

We think that Mr. Cleveland and his accomplished secretary of state have performed a great and important service to this country and the world by calling their attention to England's record of aggrandizement ever since it seized India and planted itself straight across the great high

way of nations. Relying upon her great maritime strength, she has never hesitated to avow her purpose. If interfered with, to sweep the seas. President Cleveland reminds the English nation that the days of swagger are over and that things have changed mightily since the Armada yielded to English skill and valor and Spain sank to a fifth-rate power.

President Cleveland's message will at least have one good effect, and that is to stimulate research and ascertain the motives which influenced the statesmen who administered our affairs at the commencement of the century and to test the wisdom of the policy which they enunciated at the very dawn of our existence. It bids fair to become a grand inquest upon the past and a most fitting preparation for the future. It is worthy of our most profound study, and cannot be disposed of in a day. It grows upon what it feeds upon, and may at no distant period become colossal in its proportions.

Summing Up the Situation.

A retrospect at this time is not out of order, but is imperatively called for by the demands of the hour. A calm review of the various aspects of what is known as the Monroe doctrine leads to the conclusion that what our statesmen mean when they refer to the subject is:

1. That squatter sovereignty by European nations is not applicable to this hemisphere, and will not be recognized as a legitimate mode of acquiring territory west of the meridian which divides the vast expanse of waters in midocean dividing the eastern and western continents.

2. The entire American continent was consecrated to freedom by the action of the American people when they declared their independence of the European systems of government, and Washington's farewell address supplementing that instrument forms the great magna charta of our liberties. "The one set the compass, the other pointed the way to steer through the ocean of time."

3. The teachings of the fathers were at a very early date embodied in the shorter catechism and have become our collect, and are as follows:

"Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to meddle with cisatlantic affairs. Our third, we will oppose with all our means the forcible interposition of any other power, as auxiliary, stipendiary or under any other form of pretext, and most especially the transfer of any of the territories of this continent to any European power, by conquest, cession or acquisition, or in any other way. Our fourth, any attempt on the part of the European powers to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere will be regarded by the United States as dangerous to our peace and safety, and be the cause of much and varied disquietude."

4. Acting for and in behalf of a pluribus unum, the United States regards the American continent as the land of the free and the home of the brave, and guided by an overruling providence will uphold and maintain its supremacy at any and all hazards—Lord Salisbury and the holy alliance of the powers of Europe to the contrary notwithstanding. In assuming this attitude they have taken counsel of their duties rather than their fears, and regard these "primary interests" as paramount on this continent, and quite as much in need of protection as those of Europe, which has encroached by the hollow veil.

5. Blood is thicker than water, but not thicker than blood or seaweed, and if our ambition is to regard the western half of the earth's surface as ours, England's ambition is to dominate the whole.



America's Interests Distinct.

6. America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe, and while the last is laboring to become the demicille of despotism, our endeavor should be to make this hemisphere the bulwark of freedom.

7. The American policy and the American system of government, although not treated of in any continental code, will form a separate chapter in the new and revised edition de luxe of all treatises upon international law, which will be specially designed for the use of all European historians and college professors, and will, in the light of history, deal with the subject both "in the general" and "in the singular." Lord Salisbury has evidently treated the Monroe doctrine as "in the singular." Mr. Olney regards it "in the general," and instead of limiting it to the Bluefields and the boundary lines of Guiana and Venezuela, applies it to the entire continent on the well-known mathematical principle that the whole is greater than any one of its parts.

8. Diplomatic questions for the most part have their roots in geography or ethnography. Disputes over boundaries and controversies about peoples fill at least three-quarters of the nation's blue books. Both elements enter into the present and will engage the careful attention of all who have made governments their study ever since our first parents went eastward out of the garden of Eden, and ever since those daring navigators went in search of tin beyond the pillars of Hercules.

9. Cleveland has drawn "the meridian of partition through the ocean which separates the two hemispheres" referred to by Jefferson as a possibility, "on the hither side of which no European gun shall ever be heard nor an American on the other." The nations of Europe should husband all of their resources and in the interests of God and humanity bend all their energies to protect the downtrodden and oppressed in Turkey, rather than waste their sweatness on the desert air or their substance on the fever-stricken mosquito coasts or the volcanic regions of Venezuela and the Cordilleras.

Finally—The Monroe doctrine is not confined to Hardee's tactics, or the depicting of armies, either into our own or our neighbors' territory. It is not to be ascertained by means of the schoolboy's pastime of making capital letters, but is found embodied in our history, and its spirit pervades the world. The history of this country, as well as that of Europe, is an open book, and no one can rightly claim to possess all the knowledge there is regarding either the discovery of any political truth or its development or application, but in American political grammar, the Monroe doctrine is not only a fact, but a force, and comes into play every time the European powers attempt to spread their principles in the American hemisphere, or to subjugate any parts of these continents to their will, to forcibly move boundary lines, to engage in land stealing or attempts to cheat peaceful nations out of their rights or domain from them unlawfully any portion of their territory.

These principles are found in the horn books of the American youth, and are a part of his education. Those who have been trained to believe in monarchical ideas and monarchical theories of government may be unable to find any such things written out either in longhand or in the German text, but they are nevertheless there, and if they have been omitted in any work pretending to contain a history of our constitutional development, the mistake should be corrected and embodied in the next edition.

ELLIOTT ANTHONY

ROGERS SPEAKS OUT.

MONROE DOCTRINE DISCUSSED.

Northwestern University's President Upholds Mr. Cleveland and Insists That War Is Wholly Improbable.

The message which President Cleveland sent to congress reasserting the Monroe doctrine and announcing it as his opinion that it will be the duty of the United States to resist by every means in its power an appropriation by Great Britain of any of the territory which may be found to rightfully belong to Venezuela has electrified the American people and will live in history, as one of the most important state papers ever transmitted by an executive to congress. It is not surprising that the message has provoked discussion as to what the Monroe doctrine really is and as to its true relation to international law.

On the first of these questions a variety of opinions has been expressed, showing that there is a want of unanimity concerning the true limitations of the doctrine. Indeed, there is even no unanimity as to who was the author of the doctrine which bears Monroe's name. It has been ascribed to Canning, the English statesman, who is said to have first suggested it to Mr. Rush, our minister at London, in 1823; and it has been ascribed to John Quincy Adams, who was secretary of state in Mr. Monroe's cabinet.

Monroe Doctrine a Growth.

The Monroe doctrine did not originate with Mr. Canning or with any other one man. The principles involved in it were of slow growth and had been developing long before Mr. Monroe distinctly formulated and officially set them forth. As early as 1808 Jefferson declared that our object must be "to exclude all European influence from this hemisphere." Canning's interview with Rush, of which so much is sometimes made, took place Aug. 31, 1823. But John Quincy Adams as early as July 17 had informed Baron Tuij, the Russian minister, "that we should contest the right of Russia to any territorial establishment on this continent, and that we should assume distinctly the principle that the American continents are no longer subjects for any new colonial establishments." So far is it from being true that Canning was the author or inspirer of the Monroe doctrine that he informed Minister Rush on Jan. 2, 1824, that "England must necessarily object to it," referring to that portion which related to the subject of colonization.

Mr. Monroe's declaration has given rise to much discussion concerning its proper limitations and as to whether it is applicable to the Venezuelan boundary dispute. My own opinion of the matter is that it is.



Ideas of Jefferson and Monroe.

In the letter which Mr. Jefferson wrote to President Monroe Oct. 24, 1823, in reply to a letter asking his advice concerning the message about to be sent to congress, he announced himself in favor of the following declaration:

That we will not stand in the way of any amicable arrangement between them (the South American states) and the mother country, but that we will oppose with all our means the forcible interposition of any other power as auxiliary, stipendiary or under any other form or pretext, and most especially their transfer to any power by conquest, cession or acquisition in any other way.

In the message which Mr. Monroe sent to congress he did not adopt the language quoted from Mr. Jefferson's letter. He thought it wiser to state the doctrine in more general terms. His declaration reads in part as follows:

With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on great principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

Again he says:

It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness, nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in ANY FORM with indifference.

Now it can be confidently submitted to the judgment of impartial men whether an attempt by a European monarchy to deprive an American republic, against its will, of a portion of its territory and to subject it to such European dominion, is not within the terms of Monroe's declaration. Would it not be an extension of a monarchical system of government to a portion of an American continent? Would it not be an act of oppression and an attempt to control the destiny of the people residing within such territory? The form by which the interposition occurs is by the express language of the message a matter of no moment.

Interpretations by Our Statesmen.

In 1835 Mr. Seward, then secretary of state, officially wrote the Marquis de Montholon, referring to the French occupation of Mexico, as follows:

We have constantly maintained, and still feel bound to maintain, that the people of every state on the American continent have a right to secure for themselves a republican government if they choose, and that interference by foreign states to prevent the enjoyment of such institutions, deliberately established is wrongful and in its effects antagonistic to the free and popular form of government existing in the United States.

A portion of the people on an American continent, living under a republican government, have this right violated when forcibly compelled to assume allegiance to the British crown, as in the case of Venezuela.

In 1848 President Polk sent a message to congress in which he announced that according to "our established policy" "we could not consent" to a transfer of sovereignty over Yucatan to any European power. Mr. Cass, who was secretary of state under Buchanan, made a speech in 1850

expounding the doctrine, and declared that it "prohibited the acquisition of territory by whatever mode, or however derived." Mr. Fish, secretary of state under Grant, said of the doctrine in 1870 that "it opposes the creation of European dominion on American soil, or its transfer to other European powers."

American, Not International, Law.

One may well ask those who contend for a narrow and restricted interpretation of the Monroe doctrine whether it is probable that these distinguished and able American statesmen did not understand the scope and purpose of the doctrine which they were expounding. And one may be pardoned for asking those who contend that the doctrine prohibits new colonizations on this continent but does not apply to the seizure of American territory by force, to point out a single reason for making such a distinction. In what respect is the one less inimical to our interests than the other?

Again, the thesis cannot be satisfactorily maintained that it was intended that the doctrine should be restricted so far as the United States are concerned to acts committed on the soil of our own country. The whole history of the origin of the doctrine refutes such an idea.

Moreover, those that declare that the Monroe doctrine is no part of international law cannot raise an issue with us to quarrel over. It was not asserted as a principle of international law, but as a principle of public law. President Monroe was simply announcing the policy of his administration and the policy which he thought should characterize subsequent administrations. His ipse dixit could add nothing to international law, and we had no greater rights after he asserted the doctrine than we had before.

A Word to European Statesmen.

But the European statesmen who tell us that the doctrine is untenable, so far as international law is concerned, need to be reminded that the principle under which the great powers which constitute the European concert dictate to Europe is exactly as untenable. By what principle of that law does Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Russia and Italy, to the exclusion of the other powers, presume to settle the affairs of Europe, and ignore states which, under international law, have equal rights? The Monroe doctrine is what Secretary Olney asserts it to be, "a principle of American public law," and the people of this country desire to have Europe understand that it is the policy of the United States to have that doctrine respected by them, and that they are not to intermeddle in American affairs.

While affairs are certainly serious, war is wholly improbable. No worse calamity could befall the world than war between

the two great English-speaking nations. It can be avoided by the exercise of a little common sense, and that without dishonor to either party. There is every reason to expect that an honorable adjustment will in the end be reached, without the shedding of human blood. If the commission appointed by the United States shall report that the British claim is well founded, that will end the matter so far as the United States is concerned, but if it finds the claim is not sustained, the responsibility will rest with England. That country may then say to us "We declined in the first instance to arbitrate, believing that our claim was so



undoubtedly right that there was nothing to submit to arbitration; but now that an honorable and impartial commission has examined the matter and reported adversely on our title, thereby making that doubtful which before we thought free from doubt, we are ready to submit the matter to a court of arbitration." Or England may pass the matter by in silence, and simply refrain from making any attempt to occupy the disputed territory. That the English people would support by war a title which our commission pronounced spurious and not well founded, we cannot believe. No more can we doubt that the United States is prepared to sustain the Monroe doctrine. If need be, by force of arms, and demonstrate to Europe that it means exactly what it says when it declares that America belongs to Americans, and that Europe must not intermeddle with our affairs, or attempt to steal territory which of right belongs to an American republic.

No English Allies in Europe.

In case England should attempt to forcibly possess herself of the territory of Venezuela, it is not probable that she would receive the support of a single European state. Russia, Germany, Austria, Italy, Norway, Sweden have no possessions in America, are not affected by the Monroe doctrine therefore, and would have no motive in joining her in resisting us in our determination to enforce the doctrine. The European powers having possessions in America are England, France, Spain, Denmark and the Netherlands.

Great Britain has in North America the Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland and Labrador and the Bermuda Islands; in Central America, British Honduras; in South America, British Guiana, and in the West Indies a few of the islands. Her possessions amount in all to about 4,000,000 square miles of territory, having a population of some 7,000,000.

The only possessions France has in North America are the St. Pierre and Miquelon islands, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, covering an area of only 110 square miles and having a population of about 6,000. She has no possessions in Central America. In South America she has only French Guiana, covering 46,463 square miles and having a population of 100,000. Her possessions in the West Indies only amount to 46,865 square miles, having a population of 29,769. Her only possession exposed to boundary dispute is that of French Guiana, and over that she has now a dispute with Brazil. But to suppose that she will go to war with us to defeat the Monroe doctrine is little less than absurd.

France is Busy, Others Impotent.

France has more important interests nearer home that demand her attention. She is thinking more about Alsace-Lorraine than she is about the Monroe doctrine.

Spain has no possessions in North America, none in Central America and none in South America. The only possessions left to her are Cuba and Porto Rico. These are not likely to be affected by boundary disputes, surrounded, as they are, by water, and it is difficult to see any particular reason why she should be troubled over the Monroe doctrine. She is much more concerned at the present time over the question whether she will be able to retain Cuba, and a war with the United States would settle that question in the negative for her.

Denmark holds Greenland, but has no possessions in Central or South America. Her possessions in the West Indies cover only 118 square miles. She has no boundary disputes. The Dutch have a few small islands in the West Indies and Dutch Guiana, in South America.

While England could not rely on the support of a single European state, the United States could rely on the sympathy and more or less active support of the republics of Central and South America, having a population of some 40,000,000.

Let us see what England would imperil by a war with the United States.

Canada and Ireland Weak Spots.

Canada, we must admit, would not take advantage of the opportunity to declare her independence of Great Britain. That the people of the dominion are thoroughly loyal to British interests no well informed person can doubt, and it is a mistake to suppose that there exists in that country any considerable sentiment in favor of annexation to the United States. In Manitoba it so happens that at the present time a deep feeling of resentment toward the dominion government

has been created, growing out of the school question. But there are no indications that they are prepared to unite their destiny with ours. Nevertheless, if war should occur England would just the same risk the possession of Canada, for if the United States should succeed in the contest it might insist on the cession of the dominion. A large part of the people of the United States would be in favor of such an extension of our boundaries, and they very well understand that the sooner it can be accomplished the better it will be.

Mr. Gladstone's treatment of the Irish question did much to quiet the hostility of the Irish people. Their bitterness is not quite as bitter as it was. But Ireland will never be satisfied until home rule has been secured. The people of Ireland are simply awaiting their opportunity, and English rule is as distasteful as ever to them. They have not forgotten Cromwell, coercion bills or English landlords. A war between England and the United States would delight the revolutionary party and enable them to kindle the torch of intestine discord. What the result would be it is impossible, of course, to predict. That England would be seriously embarrassed by the situation is evident. Whether the Irish would take advantage of the opportunity to seek entire independence or would be satisfied by forcing the passage of Gladstone's home rule bill is matter of conjecture. That they would make it uncomfortable for England in either event is certain.

India the Weakest of All.

The dissatisfaction which exists in India might cause serious trouble in case of war between England and the United States. India has an area of nearly 1,000,000 square miles and a population of about 225,000,000. For the defense of her interests there England relies on an army consisting of about 100,000 British troops and 180,000 native soldiers. For some time there has prevailed in India a good deal of popular unrest and dissatisfaction with the action of the government. The closing of the mints to the coinage of silver, the appointment of a commission to inquire into the opium traffic, and governmental interference with native marriage customs have been some of the sources of trouble. The latest reports from India show that the discontent is grow-



ing and Lord Frederick Roberts frankly asserts that if England is to retain her Indian possessions she must greatly increase the British force in that country. Every student of foreign affairs believes that sooner or later there is sure to come an issue between the English and the natives by the side of which the Irish question amounts to little. In case of war with the United States there is reason to think that England's relations to India would cause her great uneasiness.

Possibilities in Europe.

It is almost idle to conjecture what would happen in Europe. Almost anything might happen. That England for the time being would cease to be an obstacle in Russia's path to Constantinople is evident. That Russia would begin the onward march is not so clear, although the horrible state of affairs in Turkey at the present time would afford her a most excellent pretext, and it is by no means improbable that she might avail herself of it. But in such a move England is not the only power that Russia dreads. The triple alliance has its eyes on both Russia and France. And so it is easy to see how a war between England and the United States might precipitate a conflict between all the great powers of Europe. The dread of British interference with Russia's designs has been Turkey's chief protection for years. Russia has no outlets to the sea that are under her own absolute control. The White Sea is only open for a portion of the year, and every ship that passes out of the Black Sea must pass under the guns of Constantinople. Russia naturally desires to reach the ocean through her own outlets. She is the only great nation that is unable to do so. It is not to be wondered at that her heart is fixed on securing Constantinople. Russia and England are competitors for supremacy in the east, and England has been dominated by the thought that this eastern supremacy of hers would be involved in very great danger if Russia secured Constantinople.

England Tied in Egypt.

England has no inconsiderable interests in Egypt. In 1879 France and England intervened in the affairs of Egypt, ostensibly in the interest of foreign bondholders, and insisted on their right to supervise governmental expenditures and to have representatives of their respective governments in the khedive's cabinet. Since 1882 the country has been occupied by an English army, and France has been excluded from sharing in the control of the country. The occupation of Egypt by the British has not been received with complacency by either the French, Russian, Turkish or Egyptian governments. England has again and again declared that she would withdraw her troops as soon as their presence was no longer needed to maintain order and prevent anarchy. But the troops have never been withdrawn, and

the opinion is strong that she is only awaiting a suitable excuse for annexing Egypt to the British Empire. The hostility to English control is increasing, and last year and this year has caused the British much uneasiness. Lord Cromer, the British minister to the khedive's government, and Sir Elwin Palmer, the khedive's British financial adviser, would not like to see the problem they have to deal with rendered still more perplexing and difficult, as it surely would be by a war between England and the United States. Should such a war arise a collapse of British control in Egypt would be not unlikely.

English Commerce Would Suffer.

It is a principle of international law that in time of war the private property of the enemy on the high seas is not exempt from capture if carried in hostile ships, but is exempt if carried under a neutral flag. This principle cost the United States its carrying trade in the war of the rebellion, and what was then lost has not yet been recovered. That a war between the United States and Great Britain would inflict a similar blow on the latter power would be inevitable. The severity of the blow can be judged from the fact that England's national existence is more dependent on its commerce than is that of any other power. Counting the vessels belonging to the United Kingdom, her colonies and dependencies, 40,000 ships fly her flag, and are scattered over every sea. It would be impossible for her navy, splendid as it is, to furnish them protection. The imports and exports of the United Kingdom alone for the year 1893 amounted to \$3,412,497,655. The value of the commerce of her colonies and dependencies is not less than \$2,000,000,000. The value to her of her carrying trade is not less than \$250,000,000 per annum. She very well knows that this would be lost to her in the event of a war with this country.

Retaliation on Us Impossible.

She knows, too, that she could not retaliate in kind, as our carrying trade was lost long ago, and most of our goods are carried in foreign bottoms. For the year ending in June, 1894, foreign vessels carried our exports to the amount of \$661,540,025, while American vessels carried but \$71,258,893. We have not 18,000 sailing vessels, as she has, which, the moment war broke out between us, would have to be laid up in port and allowed to rot or be transferred to a foreign flag.

That the United States would suffer greatly in a war with England we may readily concede, so "Let us have peace," but it must be a peace with honor.

HENRY WADE ROGERS.



otillon, and the music will be furnished by John Hand. It is intended to make this of the little folks a great society event, ready preparations are well under way. Society is agog over the entertainment. Patronesses of the ball include:

Mesdames—
S. E. Gross, P. D. Armour, H. O. Stone
J. Armour, H. M. Wilmarth, G. M. Pulli
W. N. Pelouze, W. H. Thompson, J. C. Conli
P. D. Armour, Jr., W. Borden, E. F. Lawrence
E. E. Ayer, T. B. Blackstone, O. W. Pott
S. H. Stevenson, J. L. High, A. G. Pettit

Misses—
M. McClelland, H. G. Hosmer, Mary Dana
Delia Riordan, Mamie Kirk, H. Clark
Emily Campbell, M. McClelland, Hosmer,
Mamie Derkin, Clara Young, M. Herbert
Alice Hosmer, S. Conoley, M. Newber
Marie Clark, E. Kirkland, Wilson,
Louise Foltz, B. Bullock, M. Campbe

The headquarters for arrangements at Mrs. Gross' home on the Lake Shore. Last evening Mrs. Gross said she hoped in her entertainments and theatricals, all for their aim the raising of funds for the Red Cross Society, would be well under way by the time the children's ball comes off. It is expected some forty or fifty entertainments will be given. The fund will be a national one now being raised in the cities of this country. New York is particularly active in helping out the plan of Clara Barton and a corps of the Red Cross Society to give relief to suffering Armenians. The date of Clara Barton's arrival in Chicago is not yet settled, as she is too busy in New York to leave just at present.

EDWARD ELY COMPANY FAIL

Assignment of the Tailors Due to Continued Hard Times.

The Edward Ely Company, tailors at Wabash avenue, made an assignment yesterday morning to Timothy J. Fell, a lawyer, a written notice posted on the door leading to the second floor rooms in the south corner of Wabash avenue and the street, announced that the business of the company was in the hands of Mr. Fell. The assignee says estimated assets are \$15,000 and the estimated liabilities \$35,000. Hard times is the reason for the assignment. Mr. Ely said the orders now on hand would be finished and that thereafter the affairs of the company would probably be wound up and business discontinued.

The house is one of the oldest and widely known tailoring establishments in the city. It was started in the spring of 1853 by Edward Ely. At the time of the fire it was at 3 and 5 Washington street where the public library now stands. In May, 1893, the establishment has been moved to present quarters. For the last eight years the business has been incorporated as the Edward Ely Company. In December, 1901, Mr. Ely died, since which time Charles Mitchell has been president of the corporation and Alfred Weston has been its secretary.

One of the members of the company says the business began to suffer more than two years ago on account of the panic, and since then the amount of work has decreased while it has been almost impossible to get collections. The company was all the while under heavy expense for rent for the storeroom, and from that and other causes the liabilities had increased.

LINCOLN CLUB TO PARTICIPATE

Will Have a Share in the Marquette Banquet and Celebration.

The committee of the Lincoln Club intended to confer with the Marquette Club for the purpose of arranging to celebrate Lincoln's birthday in a joint banquet, and report through P. H. O'Donnell last night said the Marquette Club was in whole to make the banquet a joint affair. It had already completed its arrangements engaged its speakers, etc. A modification of the Lincoln Club's proposal had suggested by the Marquette Club. This is for the Lincoln Club to participate in



From
Chicago Times Herald
Dec. 30, 1895.

WAR TALK IN PULPITS

VENEZUELA FURNISHES A TEXT.

Rev. M. W. Haynes Urges the Resistance of Aggression Toward Weaker Nations—Revs. R. F. Johnnot and John Rosk Heard.

The Venezuelan question again furnished a text for pulpit discussion yesterday, Rev. Myron W. Haynes, of the Englewood Baptist Church; Rev. R. F. Johnnot, of the Oak Park Unity Church, and Rev. John Rush, of the Militant Church, speaking on the subject.

A murmur of applause ran through Mr. Haynes' congregation when he said "When weak humanity is wronged we have a right to resist it, and I believe with the force of arms."

Mr. Haynes preached from the text: "Think not I am come to send peace on earth; I come not to send peace, but a sword," Luke, II, 1-32. He said among other things:

Why do ministers who mistake weakness for piety, say that war can never be justifiable among civilized nations? To say that a Christian should never engage in warfare, except that moral warfare which is waged in his own bosom, is to say that a man whom God has equipped with muscle, brain, skill and a prophetic vision of consequences should rest in supine quiescence and allow wrong to trample upon right; atheism and paganism to insult Christianity. It is the most pusillanimous twaddle, and is unworthy the utterance of an intelligent man.

I assume that wars are sometimes justifiable, and that a Christian may bear arms and do violence to his Christian character. We are now in the midst of wars and rumors of wars. The crash of cannon breaks in upon Christmas cantatas. The bells of Christmas he is drowned by the bugle's war music. The cries of the dying and outraged come leaping over the sea and choke our Christmas melody. In the midst of our peace anthems we are forced to face the awful realities of war. Thousands of hunted, trembling Armenians send up their agonized shrieks for protection. The white faces of the outraged dead look reproachfully from the clouds, praying which assembly cover their shame, and shudder at the consequences of every decent man. Hungry, homeless, outraged, butchered at the very altar of their God, they turn their blood-stained faces toward heaven and ask: "Is it Christ that allow us thus to be murdered like so many beasts?" As the waves of the sea ripple over the reef at Key West they tell the tale of the strife in Cuba, where a band of traitors are striving to throw off the yoke of a nation whose history has been one of oppression, poverty and shame, whose arms are stained with the blood of such martyrs as Pizarro, Cortez, Oglethorpe and the infamous Duke of Alva. But when we get what divine right Spain has over Cuba, we find Cuba to be a part of her in the same way as Ireland is a part of Great Britain. It is wrong for men to fight under such circumstances.

New York Sentiment Reviewed.

I read in the daily papers that the pastors of New York last Sunday indulged in wholesale denunciation of the President's war message. They declare it would be a crime for two Christian nations like England and America to go to war. Perhaps these gentlemen think the war of 1776 was a crime. Perhaps they think our French friends aided and abetted a crime when they extended to the distracted colonies a helping hand. If all this be true we ought to tear down the stately pile at Funker Hill, for it stands only to perpetuate the memory of infamy. Will the Gotham preachers tell me whether our ancestors did right or wrong at Concord, Lexington and Yorktown? They may assume that we were fighting for liberty while the present Venezuelan dispute is over a bounlary line. That makes no difference. Human rights are involved in the Venezuelan dispute, and whenever human rights are ignored liberty is assailed. Human rights are human rights whether in America, Armenia, Cuba or Venezuela. I want no war with any nation, but I believe we might do meaner, baser, more unchristian things than go to war. What? Do a more unchristian thing than kill a man? What can it be? To stand by, as the Christian world is to-day, and let the barbarous Turk murder men and outrage women by the thousands. It is a blot on Christian civilization that we allow such atrocities to continue. I believe Almighty God is on the side of right. I do not care a fig for the Monroe doctrine only as it becomes the expression of a great principle what ought to prevail. If the Monroe doctrine says that England shall not be allowed to trample upon the rights of the Venezuelan Republic, then I say hurrah for the Monroe doctrine. If, on the other hand, it says we must not interfere in Cuban matters, but permit the Spaniards to trample upon Cuban rights, then I say avenge, Monroe doctrine. Let us enunciate a doctrine that will support the rights of the children of men everywhere in the face of God's ear. I have no undue longings for a fight with England. She is a good fighter. Her people have many sterling qualities for which I have profound respect; but there are some reflections which arise before me as we stand face to face with this mighty people. When I call to mind the fact that she forced opium into China at the mouth of a cannon against the protests of the wisest and best of the Chinese citizens, thus debauching a nation for trade; when I remember that she sacrificed General Gordon, one of God's noblemen, rather than sacrifice her own aggrandizement, when I reflect that she has power to at once put an end to Armenian atrocities, but dilly dallies on account of Turkish trade and the 5,000,000 Turkish souls held by English subjects; when I see her rapacity in seeking to rob a little South American province of her rightful territory, I am led to believe that this country might bring far more persons in herself than by resisting with arms such a shipping, trade-monopolizing, justice-denying people.

We are now able to settle most disputes by diplomacy. Many of them are settled by diplomacy, which ought never to be so settled, because, rather than go to war with nations are equally wretched. But I would like to ask how diplomacy could ever have settled any question I did not the Christian fight the Moors in Spain; had not the Netherlands fought the Spanish big game, had not the English met and destroyed the Spanish armada, had not the American colonies fought to throw off the yoke of the tyrant King George, had not the

[Faint, illegible handwriting at the top of the page, possibly a title or header.]

Serbs and Hungarians fought the infamous Turk? Tyranny, autocracy and cruel barbarism would have prevailed to-day, and we would be much farther from the peace the angels proclaimed. The world is being purified, but it is being purified with blood.

Men may go to war in this age, but they go not to war like wild beasts, but like men. They will not fight to gratify the insane passion of an ambition-crazed monarch, nor to acquire a province to which they have no shadow of title of right. I do not believe it would be possible for any German monarch to lay to induce Prussians or Germans to lay down their lives and sacrifice their property that their king-dom might add to it another Silesia. Men do not fight to-day for the sake of fighting, but for the sake of some great principle. Rome fought for aggrandizement. Barbarous nations fought merely for pastime. Ambitious monarchs have fought for territory. A few have waged wars merely for commercial reasons. We are rapidly passing beyond the boundary line of such unworthy sentiments. Therefore say the dawn is breaking. We are approaching the glorious peace which shall some time envelop the world in its spotless mantles as in the silent shades of night the frost king flings his habiliments of purity over forest and meadow and stream.

I cannot be forced into the belief that God expected no Christian to take part in wars. When personal insult is offered it is Christian to be pacific, tranquil, forgiving; when weak, helpless humanity is wronged we have a right to resist it, and, I believe, with force of arms. Only by this course shall evil doers be made to shrink and hestial natures be conquered. How ardently we all desire peace; not a shameful peace, but a glorious peace!

Mr. Johnnot's Contentions.

Mr. Johnnot spoke as follows:

Like a thunder clap out of a clear sky President Cleveland's recent message and the publication of Secretary Olney's note in the Venezuelan matter has brought the nation to the most serious war crisis it has met since the Mason-Sidell episode. This matter demands the serious attention of the pulpit. First, because it is the duty of the pulpit to inculcate patriotism, but second, and chiefly, because at such moments of passion, when the war spirit is rife, there is a special need of the inculcation of Christian principles, need to recall men to the principles of peace, love and righteousness which bind all men, European as well as American, and by which all lines of national conduct should be determined. It is not of main importance what the Monroe doctrine is, nor whether it is involved here in this issue. We are not bound to follow precedent entirely in establishing our national policy; we have as much right to make a precedent now as did Monroe in his time. Nor is it of main importance whether the Monroe doctrine is a part of international law. Each nation has a right to insist on what is for its own best interest. The main question is, on the one hand, what is necessary to preserve our national interest and safety, and, on the other, what policy is in accord with the laws of humanity and justice? The gist of the Monroe doctrine lies in the principle of self-defense. It took the form of our opposing any further extensions of despotic and non-republican systems of government in America on the ground that such systems, or at least such an extension of them would endanger our peace and the perpetuity of our free government.

Whether accepted by other nations or not the Monroe doctrine is founded on the basis of all international law. Outside of some foolish obduracy, as "our flag is law on this continent," Olney's note goes no further than asserting this principle of self-defense.

It is well to remember here Lowell's words: "England may be said to be a monarch with democratic tendencies." Our President has more powers than her queen. Great Britain is practically a representative of democracy. It is difficult to see then how the acquisition by her of a small territory in South America endangers our safety or our form of government. It must be on some other grounds in the main that our interference must rest. Here we touch a higher law. There are a few simple rules that govern the relations of nations as well as of individuals. The law of humanity, of justice, of equity, takes precedence. The "higher law" of which Edward and I speak is this case. At present it looks as if this is a case of British aggression against a weak

nation—one of those numerous cases which have been decided against Great Britain whenever arbitrated. It is natural for the strong to oppress the weak, but the Christian law is otherwise. England should arbitrate under the high law of justice. It is time to insert a new principle in international law that the strong nations shall guard the weak ones against aggression. This spirit breathes in Olney's note, and it is this ethical tone which rouses the nation to the support of its position. I am proud of my country if she has interfered on the ground of simple justice to a weak nation and established this precedent in international relations. How far such interference shall go, whether to involving us in war, is another matter; but the principle is sound and should be adopted in international matters. It is well to call a halt on English territorial encroachments, but America has no right to play the bully. Our flag is no law. In a controversy with a weak power to apply this is to deny justice and substitute the rule of force. Having rights, let us dare maintain them, no matter at what cost. Let us stand for justice.

"Better the fire upon the roll,

Better the blade, the shot, the bow,
Than crucifixion of thy soul."

Great is the calamity of a dishonorable peace or acquiescence in injustice by a nation; but greater still is the calamity of a dishonorable law. Our first duty is to do justice and to maintain right. Above all nations stands humanity. The grandeur of Christianity lies in its insistence on the higher law of love. It sees men not as Americans or Englishmen, but as men, as brothers, as children of a common father, bound by common laws of love and justice. From this high standpoint should all questions of state be treated. Let England and the United States face this crisis with this spirit, as nations amenable to this higher law, and this Venezuelan matter will be easily settled. Let all nations adopt this position and wars will cease.

Sentiments of Mr. Rusk.

Mr. Rusk spoke in part as follows on the subject of "True Patriotism":

When we usually come to the end of the year, we are at work casting up our gains or losses and looking into the new year. In addition, the cloud of war has fringed our horizon. The message of our President fell with great force on the whole world. Whatever may be our private judgment, we should give respectful thought to the words of him who represents this great nation.

Those who are best qualified to speak for him say the commission is intended as no menace, but simply to gather material which shall enlighten the conscience of this nation and the world. No one need fear the light of facts. We would be worse than barbarous to desire war.

It is creditable to the Prince of Wales and his son that they should come forward at this time with words of peace and good will. We may say what we will about the waning power of the crown, but no one who has watched even the deny the fact that the prince has great influence in every capital of Europe. He has been a mainstay at this juncture.

Let us remember Lowell's words at this time: "Two great calamities are possible to this country—one is a war with England; the greater and less is to be afraid of it." Both are impossible.

Deeming, as I do, that the best way to avoid war is to be well fortified against it, I am in favor of forming our young men into corps of defense and offense. They shall be taught to construct roads, build roads, post-roads, construct the track and have practical knowledge of chemical appliances. The very reply says: "This will give us electric alarm to warn us of trouble."

We should thank General Miller for his words with regard to our own condition. He is a patriot, telling the truth, and he deserves the more credit, since he places his own position in jeopardy. We do not fear the truth. "We fear God, we fear no one else."

30th Decr. 1895.

BRITISH OPINION.

THE TIMES ON THE VENEZUELA BOUNDARY DISPUTE.

Lord Salisbury's Views Upheld—The United States Claims Shown to be Imaginary—The Imperial Government Will Insist on Its Rights,

Dealing editorially with the Venezuela boundary dispute, the Times of London, Eng., says:—

It is impossible to disguise the gravity of the difficulties which have arisen between this country and the United States. The message which President Cleveland transmitted yesterday to Congress and the reception it met with on both sides in the Senate give additional importance to the despatches that have passed between the State Department at Washington and the Foreign Office, of which, in view of the vital questions involved, we publish the full text this morning. The details of the boundary dispute with Venezuela are insignificant in comparison with the far-reaching claims put forward in Mr. Olney's despatch and emphasized in Mr. Cleveland's message. Convinced as we are that a rupture between the two great English-speaking communities would be a calamity, not only to themselves, but to the civilized world, we are, nevertheless, driven to the conclusion that the concessions which this country is imperiously summoned to make are such as no self-respecting nation—least of all one ruling an Empire that has its roots in every quarter of the globe—could possibly submit to. The United States themselves would never for a moment dream of yielding to this kind of dictation. We are of the same blood, and we shall not be less careful of the national honour. We can hardly believe that the course threatened by Mr. Cleveland in his message will be seriously adopted by the American Government; but, if so, it will be incumbent upon us, without entering upon any aggressive measures, to protect our Imperial interests and to stand up for our rights under international law. It must be observed, in the first instance, that the Monroe doctrine on which Mr. Olney relies has received an entirely new development in his despatch and in Mr. Cleveland's message. That doctrine, it is admitted by all the high-

est authorities on the subject, has never been recognized, even in its original form, as a rule of international law. It has never hitherto been put forward, as Lord Salisbury points out, on the part of the United States in any formal communication to any foreign Government. It has never been so much as directly affirmed by Congress, according to Mr. Olney himself. It has been regarded as a "pious opinion" which Americans were entitled to hold, and which, under the ordinary interpretation given to President Monroe's language in 1823, described a policy in which European Governments had practically acquiesced, though it was not considered either necessary or prudent to accept it as universally binding. Lord Salisbury expresses his full concurrence in the view "that any disturbance of the existing territorial distribution in the Western hemisphere by any fresh acquisition on the part of any European State would be a highly inexpedient change." But the recognition of this expediency does not cover the preposterous deductions from the Monroe doctrine which Mr. Olney's despatch puts forward and which President Cleveland makes the basis of the most astounding proposal, perhaps, that has ever been advanced by any Government, in time of peace, since the days of Napoleon.

SECRETARY OLNEY'S PLEA.

The naked contention of Mr. Olney's despatch is that the Monroe doctrine, as now construed, gives the United States a right of authoritative intervention between Great Britain and Venezuela in the solution of a local boundary question, that it justifies the demand already addressed to the British Government by the American Government for a reference of the whole matter to arbitration, and that the refusal to assent to that demand will be regarded as oppressive towards Venezuela, as injurious to the interests of the United States, and "as calculated greatly to embarrass the future relations" between the two countries. Lord Salisbury's conclusive refutation of these claims has been met by President Cleveland's appeal to Congress to sanction and make provision for the appointment of a commission by the United States Government to enquire into the boundary question and to report upon it. It will be the duty of the Government of the United States, Mr. Cleveland says, "to resist by every means in its power, as a wilful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands or the exercise of Governmental jurisdiction over any territory which, after investigation, we have determined of right to belong to Venezuela." We



desire to speak with all proper reserve of what is still—in form, at least—a diplomatic negotiation, but we can confidently predict that the pretensions thus put forward by the President of the United States, apparently unclaimed by the Senate, and, with rare exceptions, hailed by the press on both sides as "vigorous" and "patriotic," will not be admitted by this country. The firm, though temperate, language of Lord Salisbury's reply to Mr. Olney indicates how he is likely to receive a proposal to give effect, in an offensive and overweening way, to the new construction of the Monroe doctrine. No commission appointed by a power which is not a party to the dispute will be recognized by us as having a title of any sort to pronounce upon the controverted questions of boundary between the British Empire and Venezuela. It will receive no assistance from the British authorities, and will have to rely on what it can obtain from the Venezuelans. Its decision will be null and void from the outset, even if its origin did not taint it with partiality. This new departure in international relations does not appear to be a straightforward course. It is for the United States to decide for themselves whether or not the Venezuelan boundary dispute touches their interests, though we are unable to see how it can do so. It is for them, if they deem it wise and right, to declare that they are the allies of Venezuela and support her alleged rights. We should then know where we stand. But to assume an authority to decide, in a quasi-judicial way, upon the validity of our territorial rights in another continent is a pretension which no power in the world can be justified in advancing. We shall be very much astonished indeed if there is any disagreement among the organs of public opinion in this country as to the manner in which such a claim should be confronted.

ARBITRATION IMPOSSIBLE.

The main point at issue is not whether a case can be made out for submitting the entire Venezuelan boundary dispute to arbitration. There are cogent reasons, some of which are set forth in Lord Salisbury's first despatch, against that course; but if it had been open to consideration Mr. Olney's arguments and Mr. Cleveland's proposals would have made the adoption of it impossible. No issue in which this country has been concerned at all resembling that involved in the demand of the American Government has ever yet been arbitrated upon, and Lord Salisbury expresses his belief that the United States "would be equally firm in declining to entertain proposals of such a nature." But we are bound to resist the claims which the Monroe doctrine has for the first time been extended to cover, and to which Mr. Olney has added comments and inferences against which an emphatic protest must be made. The British Empire includes large possessions in the Western hemisphere, and while these remain attached to the Mother Country it is impossible to admit, Lord Salisbury

maintains, that the interests of the United States are affected by every frontier dispute between our colonies and their neighbours, and that, therefore, the right of imposing arbitration upon us in every case of the kind must be conceded. The interests of the United States may be affected by an American boundary quarrel as they may be by conflicts in China or Japan, but a general power of interference in every part of the Western continent would be intolerable. The danger of admitting such a right is apparent from Mr. Olney's cool assumption that "distance and 3,000 miles of intervening ocean render any permanent political union between a European and an American State unnatural and inexpedient," and that the presence of European powers "permanently encamped on American soil" is a menace to the prosperity of the United States. A power which has the command of the sea does not regard "3,000 miles of intervening ocean" as severing it from its subjects.

A PARTY JINGO CRY.

The necessary meaning of Mr. Olney's language is, as Lord Salisbury observes, that the connection between the Mother Country and all her colonies and dependencies in the Western world—including Canada, the West Indies, and British Guiana—is "unnatural and inexpedient," and, we must suppose, is to be brought to an end as soon as possible "in the interests of the United States." Lord Salisbury emphatically repudiates this contention, "on behalf of both the British and the American people who are subjects of the Crown." It will not be strengthened by Mr. Olney's claim to moral superiority on the ground that self-government is only enjoyed by republics. We think we have something like self-government here, even though we have not yet developed a Tammany Hall, and we are vain enough to believe that liberty is more real and healthy in Great Britain than in Venezuela. These unnecessary and aggressive excursions seem to point to the possibility that this sudden offensive movement on the part of the United States Government has more to do with party politics than with diplomacy. Much may be pardoned in view of the approaching Presidential election, which, to a large extent, explains the union of Republicans with Democrats in raising the jingo cry. It is to be remembered, moreover, that a good deal of time must elapse before the commission recommended by the President can be appointed, and a still longer time before it can report. It may not come into existence, indeed, until the Executive has passed into other hands. Meanwhile the sober common-sense of the American people, we should hope, will condemn an attempt to pick a quarrel with a friendly power. In any case, our own course is clear. We must stand, firmly and calmly, upon our rights as an independent State, and, if necessary, take practical measures to assert them. It may even be expedient to settle the frontier question by drawing a line of our own—of course, there can be no thought of anything less than the Schomberg line—and allowing the United States and Venezuela to deal with the matter as they may.

REAL ESTATE DEAL.

VENEZUELAN TERRITORY CLAIMED BY UNITED STATES CITIZENS.

The Concessions Grated to the Manoa Company—The President of the Organization Summoned to Washington—Commercial Interests Rather Than the Monroe Doctrine May be the *Primo Consideration*.

The New York Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin, in its issue of Friday last, gives prominence to the following article, the facts mentioned in which may yet be taken as explaining the motives by which the United States Government is actuated in dealing with the Venezuelan boundary dispute:—

A few weeks ago a meeting was held in this city for the organization of a company to take over the privileges and concessions of the Manoa Company. The brief paragraph in the newspapers which mentioned the meeting spoke of the Manoa Company as the recipient of some concessions from Venezuela, but no particulars were given; probably very few of the readers of the paragraph had ever heard of the Manoa Company or its South American interests, and even the mention of Venezuela was not calculated at that moment to arouse curiosity.

The Manoa Company, however, appears again in an article by Mr. G. H. D. Gossip, in the London Fortnightly Review, which purports to give the American view of "England in Nicaragua and Venezuela." This article was published before the message of the President, with the letters of Mr. Olney and Lord Salisbury, were made public; but the writer seems to have known the substance of Mr. Olney's letter, and even before some abstracts of portions of it got into the New York papers. Mr. Gossip has means of communication, it would thus seem, with the American Department of State.

Mr. Gossip states that, "In 1884 a concession was granted by the Venezuelan Government to Messrs. Fitzgerald and Turnbull, citizens of the United States, of a part of this Orinoco Territory (the region in dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela). It was about to be utilized by an American company known as the 'Manoa Company,' when Great Britain entered such an emphatic protest that Venezuela cancelled the concession. Ever since then the conflict between Great Britain and Venezuela has been waged through diplomatic channels. Now, after eleven years, the dispute again crops up. Venezuela avails

herself of a favourable opportunity to reassert her rights and assigns them over once more to citizens of the United States. Early in April, 1895, the Venezuelan Government granted another far more important concession of land at the mouth of the Orinoco on the border of British Guiana, extending 125 miles south, and from 15 to 50 miles east and west, to Messrs. Grant, Fisher, and Bowman—all American citizens. These lands are believed to be enormously rich in minerals, mahogany, rosewood, and dyewoods, and cover an area of about 15,000,000 acres. The syndicate to which this concession has been granted is composed of some of the wealthiest and most influential persons in the United States; Grant being a wealthy contractor of Fairbault, Minn.; while Fisher was formerly manager of the Duluth and Winnipeg Railway Company; and Bowman is a Grand Rapids banker. The syndicate has also acquired the right to mine asphalt on a small island near Trinidad; the President of Venezuela having guaranteed, as far as he can, absolute control over the territory thus granted. It was then predicted that this concession would become famous in the history of the diplomacy of the United States and Great Britain, being so well calculated to bring to a crisis the most troublesome diplomatic question before the Washington Cabinet."

Nearly coincidentally with the granting of this concession the visit of Admiral Meade to Caracas was made the occasion of a tremendous demonstration in favour of the United States and the Monroe doctrine. Meade and his officers received a popular ovation all the way from La Guayra to Caracas, and all the newspapers of the latter city demanded that the Government erect a statue of President Monroe.

We have then, in April last, a concession by the Venezuelan Government to an American syndicate of fifteen million acres of rich mineral and timber lands "in the heart of the territory in dispute between Venezuela and Great Britain," and about the same time the Venezuelans make much the same sort of demonstration over Admiral Meade that the people of France made over a Russian admiral and his officers who visited Marseilles, and from there were carried in triumph to Paris, some three or four years ago. Then, in July, Mr. Olney writes to Lord Salisbury that we are the sovereign of the Western hemisphere, and our fiat is law, and Venezuela's claim to a good part of what appears to be British Guiana must be submitted to arbitration or we will fix the boundary ourselves and maintain it by arms. Then, in the fall, before Lord Salisbury's letter is received, but when the tenor of it must have been pretty well ascertained by Mr. Olney through Mr. Bayard, the obsolete Manoa Company is reurrected, and a meeting of the North-Western gentlemen and their

74

associates is held here to effect a reorganization of the syndicate concerning which Mr. Gossip wrote, at just about the same moment. "is on the eve of taking possession of its concession (if it has not already done so) on the territory disputed by Great Britain in Venezuela, and beginning its operations," which syndicate is not only composed of some of the wealthiest men in the United States, but "persons prominent in both political parties being associated with these capitalists, and millions of dollars of American capital being at stake."

Finally, we have the demands of Mr. Olney and the arguments of Lord Salisbury given to the public with a Presidential message threatening to declare war with England unless England backs down from her present position, which is that the territory east of the Schomburg line is hers beyond question, and will not be submitted to arbitration, and that the precise location of the boundary west of that, within a region long claimed by England on the ground of claims made by Holland, and tacitly admitted by Spain, she was willing to submit to arbitration, but Venezuela refused to accept these terms.

It seems to us that the boundary which we ought to trace, first of all, is the boundary between a private speculation in lands with a clouded title, and a great national policy, which we are, and always have been, willing to defend by force of arms.

The Minneapolis Sunday Times gives to the world the portrait of Mr. J. A. Bowman, president of the Manoa Company, together with some extremely interesting information about him. "President Bowman," it says, "within a few days promises to play an important part in the negotiations with England. He is the author of the famous letters which appeared in the New York Sun calling the attention of the citizens of the country to the principles of the Monroe doctrine, and showing how applicable they were in preventing England from continuing her land-grabbing plan in South America. These letters were

written anonymously, so far as the general public is concerned."

The Times goes on to say:—"President Bowman will figure prominently in the future, for he received a communication from Washington yesterday asking him if he would take the lead in showing the party of commissioners over the disputed territory between Venezuela and British Guiana. The message asking him to do this was inspired by President Cleveland, although it did not come from the President directly; it was sent out through the department of the Secretary of State." Mr. Bowman is quoted as saying that he had been asked to guide the commissioners to be appointed through the disputed territory, and that the Schomburg line ran through the grant of the Manoa Company, and that the value of the resources of the region are simply beyond computation. "The Manoa Company, operating at the mouth of the Orinoco," said he, "was formed under the laws of the State of New York. The grant was first secured from the Venezuelan Government in 1833 by C. C. Fitzgerald. Then the Manoa Company, limited, was formed in 1885. It was organized under the laws of the United States, and after the grant was given and the papers were properly fixed up in South America, they were brought to Washington and filed with the Secretary of State. The members of the company are nearly all citizens of the United States, and they have not renounced their loyalty. Therefore this Government is bound to protect us, whether there is a Monroe doctrine or not. But, of course, the important duty in connection with European aggression is contained in the principles of the Monroe doctrine."

The Free Press,

LONDON, ONT.

Monday, December 30, 1895.

J. K. CLARE, - - - General Manager.
W. SWAISLAND, - Secretary-Treasurer.

SUESIDENCE OF THE WAR SCARE.

The past two weeks have been eventful ones on both continents. Never since the celebrated Trent affair in 1861, the first year of the civil war, when an American war vessel overhauled the British passenger ship Trent and forcibly arrested two Confederate officials from the protection of the British flag, has there been such a fever of war talk as recently. On the platform, in the press, in the halls of the United States Congress "war talk" has been the one topic. "Will there be war?" has formed the constant enquiry since President Cleveland promulgated his threatening message. Not only have the prospects of collision been eagerly canvassed, but the means of offence and defence discussed. French military officers are said to be clever at the trick of rattling the sword in its scabbard when they desire to raise the enthusiasm of the troops. The click-click of the sword has a peculiarly exciting influence upon French soldiers. In like manner, the political demagogues, and the "Jingoes" of the American press, have been eager to stimulate the martial ardour of the American citizen. The time had arrived when John Bull was to be plainly reminded that Brother Jonathan was in no mood to be trifled with, the President had spoken for the American nation, the people were at his back, and "no surrender" was to be the watchword. The Monroe doctrine, which had slept for so long, was then fetched from the national archives and rehabilitated. Great Britain and the other European Powers were to be told that

the American people could not be trifled with. "No interference on the American continent, either north or south," was the message sent by Cleveland to Salisbury. The American President, as the champion of the national jingoism, all of a sudden appeared as a prominent disturber; the gasconade of the press and the people echoed the covertly-concealed war threat; the display of patriotism of an offensive character soon followed.

While all this unnecessary jingoism was rampant in the United States, what was the attitude of Great Britain? A perusal of newspaper opinions cabled during the recent period of unrest showed that it was one of calm complacency. Reason still held her throne. The Britons were neither unduly excited nor depressed. It only required a careful, critical scrutiny of the grounds upon which Cleveland's allegations were based to demonstrate their illogical nature. British people are nothing if not logical. The critical analysis of the Scotch, the cool common sense of the English and the witty epigram of the Irish combined, quickly rendered the verdict. And that verdict might be summed up in the ejaculation—"hosh!" The "argumentum ad judicium" was not to be rebutted or gainsaid. The continental nations added their consensus of opinion that the President's contention—that the United States had the right to decide boundary questions in Venezuela of its own volition—was not for a moment to be tolerated. As a trump card for political party purposes, to stimulate the vanity of the American people, it might answer for a time, but no longer. The bubble was soon pricked. Great Britain continued complacent. The members of the Home Government and the people generally ate their Christmas dinners in serenity, and if the Venezuela difficulty was alluded to, probably it was merely to excite the laugh. True, the authors of England addressed a

memorial to the literary men of America of a sort of remonstrative character, pleading for peace and goodwill. And in response to the telegraphic enquiries of the New York World, many eminent men of high position in Great Britain cabled their views on the war controversy, all, with one exception, adopting a tone of conciliation and friendship. These utterances have had a good effect in dispersing the electricity in the air. Among the senders of these messengers of peace were His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, who cabled the following admirable and timely words:—

Sandringham, Dec. 21, 1895.—“Sir Francis Knollys is desired by the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York to thank Mr. Pulitzer for his cablegram. They earnestly trust and cannot but believe the present crisis will be arranged in a manner satisfactory to both countries, and will be succeeded by the same warm feeling of friendship which has existed between them for so many years.”

Amid all this talk and excitement the Briton kept his head. There was neither naval nor military excitement anywhere in the Empire. Not an extra ship was despatched to the West Indies or Canadian stations, nor were preparations of any sort made to meet a possible contingency. The merits of the question had been canvassed and determined by the arbitration of human reason. There would be no war for two reasons:—First, because there was no ground for hostilities, and then because of the utter unpreparedness of the American nation to challenge a resolute defender. A very brief estimate of the condition of American coast defences, as of American readiness for attack, disclosed their absolute weakness and incapacity. The prospect of an effective British naval flotilla both on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts was too much for the American stomach to digest. No one doubted the capacity of an improvised American army to

harass Canada, but the adoption of such a course would have been as illogical as unworthy. As to crossing the Atlantic and bearding the British lion in his den, the wildest American imagination was not equal to the proposal!

So the war scare has happily terminated. Perhaps the controversy has in a way been useful, inasmuch as American jingoism has received such a set-back as will prevent its displaying its loathsome countenance for many a year. American politicians will for some time at least cease their gasconading; the lion's tail will not be twisted as often as heretofore. Amid the lessons to be derived from the upheaval of the last two weeks is the value of moderation, a lesson the American people stand sadly in need of. Another lesson which they should also lay to heart is that of international courtesy, which seems to be almost foreign to their nature. Although a large and populous nation, full of patriotism, zeal and resources, their public men should endeavor to restrain rather than encourage the unnecessary boastfulness and braggadocio which is a marked characteristic of republican institutions. As to Canada, she has kept her head as well as the Mother Country. We have assumed the calm attitude of dignified quiescence, and it is to be hoped that during the crisis which has passed we may at least have merited the respect of our neighbors.

THE
LIBRARY OF THE
MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
AND
ZOOLOGY
OF THE
CITY OF LONDON
1871

THE DAILY MAIL AND EMPIRE,

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1895.---

FROM VENEZUELA.

INTERVIEW WITH THE SON OF THE AMERICAN MINISTER.

A British Army of 10,000 Men, He Says, Could March Freely From One End of the Country to the Other.—The English Disliked by the People in Caracas, but Americans, on the Contrary, Idolised.

Mr. J. B. Thomas, son of General Allen Thomas, United States Minister to Venezuela, has recently returned to Brooklyn from Caracas, and in an interview published in the Brooklyn Eagle is reported to have said:—

"Venezuela," he said, "is a remarkable country. It is said of it that the traveller in the first six months is enraptured with it and its queer sights and customs, and in the next six months is killed with ennui. Caracas is just now a city of fads for everything American. Their styles, their manners, and everything they do are aped from Americans, much as Anglomaniacs here copy everything English. Particularly are the Americans copied by the Venezuelans in the matter of carriage riding. They are a great people to take pleasure; aside from gambling their keenest public delights are in the way of driving out on fest days and Sundays. Even on ordinary days an ounce of gold worth \$16 is paid for a short drive behind American horses. The coach is the same as that before which the native or Peruvian horses are driven, the only difference being in the horses. A day's ride would cost a patron from \$50 to \$60. It is a common thing for young men, clerks in stores who earn from \$20 to \$25 a week, to spend their weeks' salaries on a Sunday behind American horses driving on streets where they may be observed by their young women acquaintances. When I went to Caracas from New York last year I took an American dog cart and horse that cost me \$650, and in less than a week after I reached Caracas I was offered \$1,500 for the rig I sold it. Why, livery stable proprietors here who are run out of business by the bicycle rage ought to recoup by going to Caracas. They could make big fortunes.

"The most typical characteristics of a Venezuelan I found to be never to do to-day what he can put off until to-morrow, the word *manana* (to-morrow) being the word most often on their lips; and another thing an indisposition to pay business obligations, though debts of honour, so called, such as gambling debts, are settled with religious promptness. They work as little as they can in the upper classes, rising and taking a little fruit and coffee, breakfasting at noon and taking a siesta, even the hard working persons doing that, and stopping all kinds of industry at 5 or 6 o'clock. It isn't due to the influence of the climate, for it varies scarcely 10 degrees the year round. A Venezuelan will neglect an important business engagement to stop and take a drink, and next day will tell you an awful yarn about the death of his grandmother.

"The Venezuelans as a rule hate the English, who have managed to get control of many important industries. Take the railroad from Caracas to the seaport town, La Guayra. It is like most of the railroads in that country, a narrow gauge road, and winds around the mountains, the Cordilleros Andes, giving the most delightful views of the Caribbean sea from an altitude of 8,000 feet. In all its twenty-two miles of length there's no more charming spot than Zig Zag, about half way up to the capital from the coast. Below one is the sea, and all around are coconut palms and evergreens, while trailing clouds float far below one, spread out like a flow in the air. This road was built by the English for \$10,000,000, and the exorbitant rate of 5 cents a mile is charged. The English, too, for instance, have a practical monopoly of the telephone systems. There are three telephone systems in Caracas, two conducted by American companies, but the English company managed by Mr. Wallace has the bulk of the business. It has a subscribers' list of 1,500 members in a population of 50,000, and its rates are exorbitant, being \$34 a year to each.

"There's no army in Venezuela that would prevent England from marching through it from end to end with 10,000 men. It is made up of half-breeds and Indians, and does not know the manual of arms. When troops were called out to present arms to my father, they didn't know how to do it. About all they can do is to carry arms and to trail arms in a movement that is

75
down in no manual I ever saw. In the event of an invasion by the English, about all the troops could do would be to retreat down to the low prairie land to the south, where they could not be easily dislodged, as European soldiers couldn't live there. It is in that country that all the revolutions rise, and the people who live there are fighters—desperate fighters, too.

"The disputed region about which so much has been written is very valuable country. England knew well what she was about when she claimed it. It is rich in mines and is an agricultural country, too. I have not been down there, but intend to do so as soon as I return, which will be in a few weeks. There will be no need I should think of the United States commission to be appointed by President Cleveland going further than Caracas to obtain proof of the justice of Venezuelan claims in the dispute with England. There are in the yellow building known as the government headquarters, where the archives are situated in Caracas, abundant documentary proofs in the shape of maps, grants, etc., and these will of course be laid out freely and fully for the inspection of the commissioners.

"The Government in Venezuela is a strange one. The constitution is supposed to grant suffrage to all, including the peons, but there are no arrangements made for voting by the masses, not even ballot boxes. The Senate and House elect the President, and, as the constitution does not permit Crespo to succeed himself, a successor is appointed who will please him, and then he can follow his successor again. Crespo, by the way, seems likely to break the record in Venezuela in the matter of being willing to stay at the capital. The usual course has been for a ruler to enrich himself and then go to Europe and enjoy life there. Crespo is worth \$10,000,000 or \$15,000,000, and is building a beautiful mansion on the heights, near Caracas, worth at least \$500,000. Then, too, he is building a magnificent mausoleum near the city for himself and his family. It is of elaborate design, in the Moorish order. The material is from abroad, and is of granite. The cost of it will be something enormous.

"Altogether it looks as though Crespo means to stay. But we can never tell when a revolution will break out. The signs, however, are not evilent now. The chief sign is the disappearance of money. It is the rule that at the beginning of a new Government money is plenty and prices are high. Then the people begin to be suspicious and hoard money. Then comes a revolution, when money begins to circulate freely again. Just now there's plenty of money in circulation. Peons will not work more than eight hours, from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. They get \$2 to \$3 a day, and work hard, one carrying two bags of coffee, or 200 pounds, at a time. They live a good deal as Italians do in Brooklyn, and spend their money like water on their pleasures, of which gambling is perhaps the chief.

"There are many rich cities inland,

reached by railroads, telephone and telegraph from Caracas. Among them are Valencia, 60,000 inhabitants; Barracimento, 40,000; La Victoria, 10,000 to 15,000; and Suldán Bollená, 30,000. The country is rich, and in the Orinoco delta are rich mines of gold, iron, and coal. South of the disputed region there are Indians who still shoot with bows and arrows, and the arrows are tipped with poison."

ABOUT VENEZUELA.

Some Facts Which Have Not Appeared in the Diplomatic Correspondence.

The area of Venezuela is 632,000 square miles, larger than that of any country in Europe except Russia, and larger than that of any State in the United States. The area of Texas is 265,000 square miles.

The population of Venezuela by the last census was 2,550,000. This is more than Denmark's and less than Switzerland's. It is about the same as that of Massachusetts. The last official estimate of the population of Massachusetts, made on January 1, 1894, was 2,472,000. By the Federal census of five years ago the population of Massachusetts was 2,238,000.

Caracas, the capital and chief city of Venezuela, has a population of 70,000, or less than that of Fall River. It is built on an elevation of 3,000 feet above the sea level. It was founded in 1557. Caracas is an Indian name; the name of the Indians of the neighbourhood which the Spanish pioneers affixed to the original title of the new town, Santiago de Leon. In 1812, the year of the latest American war with Great Britain, an earthquake in Caracas buried 12,000 persons in the ruins of a part of the city. The date of this earthquake was March 26.

There are 200,000,000 acres of forest lands in the republic of Venezuela. Rosewood, satinwood, mahogany, and white and black ebony are found.

The distance from New York to La Guayra, the port of Caracas, is 2,200 miles. In addition to coffee, gold, and fine woods, Venezuela exports hides, cocoa, and cattle. The distance from La Guayra to London is nearly 5,000 miles.

The salary of the American Minister to Venezuela is \$7,500. The rank of Venezuela's representative at Washington is that of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. Although Venezuela has been for many years a republic, its official representatives are profound believers in a conventional observance of official etiquette. A considerable number of diplomatic disputes have taken place between the Venezuela State Department and the representatives of various foreign Governments over details of routine and usage.

On the north shore of Venezuela, or rather to the north of that republic, are several islands of greater fame than large area, particularly the island of Curacao, a Dutch possession; the island of Trinidad, a British possession; the island of Tortuga, and the British Isle of St. George.

Some of the most picturesque and

loquacious parrots and lively cockatoos come from Venezuela.

The length of Venezuela from east to west is 900 miles, and from north to south 775 miles.

There are fourteen varieties of monkeys in Venezuela and no cuckoos. The name Venezuela means Little Venice.

The coffee crop of Venezuela amounts to \$15,000,000 a year in value. The average crop is 60,000 tons of coffee. Two-thirds of this product is exported, mostly to England. Maracaibo is one of the centres of trade; Maracaibo coffee is known everywhere.

Venezuela first made declaration of its independence in 1810. The present republic was formed in 1830, in the same year that Belgium became an independent monarchy. The rival political parties in Venezuela are the Unionists and the Federalists. The former favour a centralized government; the latter are for home rule. Both are opposed to foreign invasion, encroachment, or confiscation.

The army of Venezuela, on a peace footing, consists of 1,000 horsemen, 4,000 infantry soldiers, and 1,000 artillerymen, exclusive of the local militia and irregular troops. By the law of Venezuela all citizens between the ages of 18 and 45 (both inclusive) are liable to service in the national militia.

The average gold product of Venezuela in a year is \$1,000,000. The standard of value in the republic of Venezuela is the bolivar, so called after Simon Bolivar, and the value of it is the same as a French franc—19.3 cents. Venezuela does not produce silver. Much of the foreign debt is held in England. The exports of Venezuela exceed the imports by \$3,000,000 a year.

There are more than 200 lakes within the boundaries of Venezuela, one of the largest being 1,600 feet above the level of the sea. The Orinoco river, the largest in Venezuela, is 1,160 miles long. It is five times as long as the Hudson river, but less than one-third the length of the Amazon, and less than one-half the length of the Mississippi. The roads of Venezuela are inferior. Communication is difficult. The Government, however, has expended large sums of money for the improvement of the approaches to some of the larger towns. There are twenty States in Venezuela, the official division being based on the Constitution of the United States. There is also a Federal district, corresponding to the District of Columbia, and there are several dutying territories.

The mineral products of Venezuela, in addition to gold, which English speculators are seeking by summary annexation of Venezuela territory to the British possessions, are iron, zinc, quicksilver, lead, tin and antimony. There are also extensive products of salt, alum, lime, sulphur, and asphaltum.

The summer season in Venezuela lasts from November to April. The winter season lasts from April to November. The climate of the temperate part of the country is the finest in South America, the most equable and the most salubrious, outside of Peru. The women of Venezuela are of the Spanish type, and are celebrated for their beauty. The language of the country is Spanish; no language is sweeter. About 45,000,000 persons altogether speak Spanish as their native language, a majority of them living in South and Central America.

Venezuela imports from the United States in a year about \$4,100,000 worth of goods, chiefly manufactured articles. From Great Britain it imports \$3,800,000, from Germany \$2,100,000, from France \$2,000,000, and from Spain \$300,000. This is the country from which Venezuela imports most, and this is the country to which Venezuela exports most. Venezuela's exports to the United States average \$12,000,000, to France \$7,000,000, to England \$2,100,000, and to Germany and Spain \$600,000 each.

The debt of Venezuela at the time of the last computation was \$22,000,000, or about one-fifth of the present debt of New York city. The debt of Venezuela was \$11 per capita. In the United States the per capita debt is \$14, in England \$37, and in France \$116.

Venezuela is in the extreme northern part of South America, directly facing the Caribbean sea. To the west of it is the republic of Colombia, to the south is Brazil, to the east are the territorial possessions of three European Governments combined under the geographical name of Guiana. The furthest away from Venezuela is French Guiana, a territory of 46,000 square miles and 25,000 population, the chief city of which is Cayenne, whence comes the pepper, and to which French criminals convicted of serious offences are transported. Next nearest Venezuela, but not touching it at any point, is Dutch Guiana, a territory of almost exactly the same size as the French colony, but having a population twice as large. Paramaribo is the chief town. Next, and adjacent to Venezuela is British Guiana, the size of which is in dispute.—New York Sun.

The Globe.

31. Dec. 1895.

SOUTH AMERICAN CIVILIZATION.

It is worth noting that the eventuality which the enforcement of the Monroe doctrine is calculated to prevent is the very destiny which has been prophesied for the tropical regions of Central and South America. Mr. Benjamin Kidd's work on "Social Evolution" was undoubtedly the book of its year, and in the extent to which it was read almost rivalled a successful novel. The abolition of slavery was one of the signal proofs, to Mr. Kidd's mind, of the advance of the spirit of altruism in western civilization. Discussing this spirit in his concluding chapter he endeavors to forecast the course of events in the tropical regions of the earth, at present mainly inhabited by the black and yellow races. Central America and almost the whole of the tropical parts of South America were formerly under the rule of Spain or Portugal. Hayti was a French colony. The British West Indies remain British.

Hayti a hundred years ago threw off the French yoke, and a few years thereafter the northern countries of South America and those of Central America achieved their independence. Much of the territory occupied by these States is among the richest in the world in natural resources. Mr. Kidd says that it is the general habit to regard these countries as inhabited by European races, which, like the United States, achieved their independence. As a matter of fact this view has little to justify it. In the 22 republics comprising the territory in question considerably over three-fourths of the entire population are descendants of the original Indian inhabitants, or imported negroes or mixed races. The purely white population appears to be unable to maintain itself for more than a limited number of generations without recruiting itself from the outside. For

climatic and other reasons, therefore, Mr. Kidd believes that we must look forward to the time when these territories will be almost exclusively peopled by the black and Indian races.

These races have shown themselves to be of a low average of social efficiency, and wherever they have been left to themselves a blight has spread over the region committed to their charge. "In nearly all the republics in question," Mr. Kidd says, "the history of government has been the same. Under the outward forms of written laws and constitutions of the most exemplary character they have displayed a general absence of that sense of public and private duty which has always distinguished peoples who have reached a state of high social development. Corruption in all departments of the Government, insolvency, bankruptcy and political revolutions succeeding each other at short intervals have become almost the normal incidents of public life—the accompanying features being a permanent state of uncertainty, lack of energy and enterprise amongst the people and general commercial stagnation." The fearful condition of Hayti is too well known to need further reference. The altruistic spirit which forms the theme of Mr. Kidd's book at present prompts the dominant races residing in the temperate parts of the earth to leave their black fellows to work out their own destiny. A time may come, however, when an interference in their affairs may be deemed to be in accord with duty and necessity, and that would afford a moral sanction which is now lacking and without which any interposition would be doomed to failure.

This call of duty or necessity will be furnished, Mr. Kidd thinks, when the western races perceive that the fairest portion of the earth, the portion capable of responding most liberally to

Page 10

the efforts of man, is not worked to even a respectable fraction of its potentialities. He believes, however, that there will be no enlarged attempt to form white settlements, but that the labors of the dark races will be organized and directed by the dominant races from their seats in the temperate regions of the earth. It is on this plan that the development of India, Egypt, Algiers and Tunis has taken place, and the success achieved in those countries contains object lessons and suggestions for the future.

While the Monroe doctrine was enforced such a change as Mr. Kidd outlines could hardly take place, unless it is allowed that the United States themselves are exempt from its prohibitions. It is exceedingly doubtful, however, if the European nations would respect a principle that allowed the United States to play the Master Spirit to all the South American communities while they were forbidden from interfering in the programme. Some of them could claim to be American powers as well as the United States. Britain could show that her American possessions were of greater area than those of the United States. France could file a claim on the strength of Cayenne, Holland on Dutch Guiana and Spain on Cuba. A despatch, indeed, says that Lord Salisbury has drawn the attention of these three powers to the interpretation which President Cleveland and his Secretary of State have put upon the Monroe doctrine. France has quite as serious a quarrel with Brazil in regard to boundaries as Britain has with Venezuela, and it is altogether unlikely that she would accept with resignation a proposal that the President of the United States should settle off-hand what the limits of her territory in that part of the world should be. What the future of the Central and South American republics will be is perhaps not a very pressing question, but it is somewhat singular to hear them spoken of in connection with the name of liberty. One-half of them are under the government of dictators, who maintain their authority by the arms of mercenary troops, and a good specimen is afforded of the ideas of civil liberty which prevail in Venezuela

when we read among the despatches that an editor who was indiscreet enough to publish an extract from The London Times which was not wholly favorable to Venezuela's pretensions was immediately clapped in jail. If the same views of freedom prevailed in the United States, the editors of The World, The Post, The Commercial Bulletin, The Buffalo Commercial, The Springfield Republican and others would by this time be kicking their heels in the prison nearest to their places of business. No doubt many ardent jingoes will agree that that is where they should be, but the fact that so widely differentiates Liberty as she is known among our neighbors and as she is known in Venezuela is that they are all at large, no man daring to make them afraid, while in Venezuela the rash Senor Ponte is in the calaboose.

82

THE CHICAGO TIMES-HERALD.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 1, 1896.

REPLY TO VON HOLST.

POINTS OF HISTORY DISPUTED.

E. C. Towne Charges the Professor
With Error in Fact in His Treat-
ise on the Monroe
Doctrine.

CHICAGO, Dec. 30.—To the Editor: THE TIMES-HERALD of Dec. 22 presented the case as seen by Dr. von Holst in these terms:

The Monroe doctrine was proclaimed in accord with Great Britain. It would not be altogether incorrect to say that Great Britain—that is to say, George Canning—is the original author of the Monroe doctrine, in a sense. The decisive move by England was made in 1822 and it went up into 1823, and in 1823 the so-called Monroe doctrine was proclaimed. The decisive move by Great Britain was the formal acknowledgment of the independence of the former Spanish colonies. There came up this question of the Spanish colonies in America, and there America and Great Britain locked arms and told the holy alliance (France, Austria, Prussia and Russia) on the water's edge, "thus far and no farther; beyond the ocean your principles do not hold good."

Great Britain took formal action under the direction of George Canning. This action was the formal acknowledgment of the independence of those Spanish colonies. That recognition by Great Britain was in 1822. The Monroe doctrine was the direct fruit of that.

The question as to the relation of the Spanish colonies to Spain was clinched on the one side by the United States and Great Britain, on the part of Great Britain by the formal recognition of the independence of the Spanish colonies, and on the part of the United States partly also by the same recognition and partly by the proclamation of the Monroe doctrine. But the point of the Monroe doctrine is turned directly against the holy alliance and its principles and not against Great Britain. Great Britain was, so to speak, when the Monroe doctrine came into existence, the shield holder of the United States and acted in accord with her.

Great Britain has not violated, in connection with the Venezuelan matter, the principle to which it gave its adherence in 1822. Not at all; I absolutely deny that the Monroe doctrine is in the very least involved in this question. That is exactly my contention. The Monroe doctrine refers only to the extension of the European system by the force of arms, and here there is absolutely no question at all about the extension of the European system—that is to say, the monarchical system—by force of arms. It is simply a dispute about a boundary line and nothing more. * * * Under no conditions whatever could Great Britain take the territory of Venezuela and involve the Monroe doctrine, unless it simply grabbed the whole of Venezuela, or unless it did what France did in regard to Mexico, or unless it ran riot and said, "We will make a monopoly. * * * an attempt to plant by force the European system of monarchy upon an American republic's soil. That was the only case of the Monroe doctrine that there has been thus far, the Mexican case in Mexico a forcible attempt to transplant a monarchical system upon an American republic."

It would be midsummer madness for us to go to war about such a question as this, because it is absolutely indifferent to us whether England has 23,000 or 30,000 acres more of this arid land, whether there is gold in it or not.

The errors revealed by these assertions is, perhaps, most astounding in what is said of England's recognition of the independence of the republics which had been colonies of Spain. Dr. von Holst could not make a more unfounded statement than he does in the double assertion that it took place before Monroe spoke by his famous message, and that it caused Monroe to speak as he did. It did not take place until after the message—not until 1823, and it was not a direct recognition then.

It is none the less misstatement of the essential facts when Dr. von Holst asserts that Great Britain and the United States acted jointly, and that Great Britain took the lead.

To begin with, Canning steadily disregarded the demand of the American minister, Richard Rush, for recognition by Great Britain of the Spanish-American republics. He proposed instead that the United States join Great Britain in a strong protest against the purposes of the holy alliance, and this Rush refused. Schouler's History of the United States (vol. iii., p. 255) gives Rush's conclusive words, "Rush, to begin with," says Schouler (p. 253, iii.), "had found the ministry strangely reluctant to recognize the Spanish republics, and thereby place England upon common ground with the United States, though freely admitting the justice of taking such a step." And when Canning presented his proposals for joint action by means of a protest, Rush's answer was in these words:

My country has acknowledged the independence of these Spanish-American republics, and wishes to see them received into the family of nations. I must procure instructions from home before entering into any joint understanding. Immediate recognition (by England) offers, however, the true basis for our concert. Let Great Britain at once recognize the Spanish-American republics.

Schouler correctly adds: "From such a conclusion Canning drew back." He further states, what was the real fact, that President Monroe wrote to Rush in full approval of his course, as follows: "You could not have met Canning's proposals better if you had had the whole American cabinet at your right hand."

Of the view upon which President Monroe settled for his message, Schouler again correctly says:

He had determined neither on the one hand to provoke the alliance by a tone of taunting defiance, nor on the other give this country the appearance of taking a profit in subverting Great Britain. As to British proposals, indeed, it was noticed that Rush's ground was a fair true one. We were stronger, knowing that Great Britain opposed the alliance, as we did, but unless Canning would pledge his government to recognizing South American independence no further cooperation appeared possible. [Adams' Diary, November, 1823; Monroe MSS.]

And after his account of what Mr. von Holst's denials were, and what they effected in putting a stop to intended European interference

ence in South America, Schouler relates how England came in last of all, after the solemn remonstrance of the United States, as follows:

Finally, England's discountenance dealt the whole project a death blow, for Canning, as it appears, unable to bring Rush to a joint declaration, warned France in his own way that if force were used or British commerce molested in the effort to reconstruct the Spanish colonies England would declare their independence. Though satirical over the Monroe doctrine in its broader aspects, he commended its present application. He defied Metternich and his intrigues, and by 1825 had worked out his own plan of British recognition, not by the avowal of an open principle, but by artfully negotiating treaties with the new republics in the interest of British commerce.

Such is the decisive evidence of comprehensive ignorance of the true facts in Dr. von Holst's story of the matter. It is not a case of university liberty to differ. But this ignorance of the facts is far less regrettable than the inability of Dr. von Holst to read correctly the perfectly plain declarations of President Monroe, and to comprehend their significance and their present application. These declarations may be summarily stated as these three:

That, in view of the very different characters of the American system and that of the European powers, we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.

That, in view of what the Spanish-American republics had done to achieve their own independence, and of the recognition of that independence which the United States had given, "we could not view any interposition for oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

That, "as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers."

The three points are fully covered by the second and third, but all three were distinctly made in Monroe's message. The central doctrine is, American protest against European extension in America, against any new colonization by any European power, and against every form and degree of interposition to oppress or to in any way control the destiny of any American state.

It is certainly very simple to raise the question of the action of Great Britain at the present time, whether it is not an action of extension, of oppression of a weak power by a strong, of a grasping attempt to control Venezuelan development. Full liberty of opinion may be insisted on here, and Dr. von Holst may claim that Great Britain is within her rights under the Monroe declarations, but to say that the Monroe doctrine touches nothing except some attempt to plant a monarchy by force of arms, and that the present question does not come under the Monroe principles, means misunderstanding of the whole Monroe Americanism. It is especially erroneous to say, as Dr. von Holst does above, that the Monroe doctrine was not turned against England. It turned every way against the system and aims and possible selfishness and wrong of every European power, England included.

E. C. TOWNE.

The Mail and Empire
Jan. 1st 1896.

VENEZUELAN AFFAIRS

AN IMPORTANT DOCUMENT FOUND IN WASHINGTON.

It Has a Bearing on the Schomburg Line

—The British Minister and the Spanish
Representative Expelled From Colombia

—A Congress of South American States
to be Summoned to Defend Their Rights

—A Way Out of the Difficulty—Mr. Mills,
M.P., on the Monroe Doctrine.

Washington, D.C., Dec. 31.—In the last few days the State Department has made a discovery of considerable importance in the Venezuelan boundary dispute, one which throws new documentary light on the British contention of ownership west of the Schomburg line, and on Lord Salisbury's refusal to agree to arbitration east of that line. In the opinion of those officials who have been engaged in studying the various phases of the controversy, this official document demonstrates that England had no idea of claiming a large part of Venezuela until Schomburg's scientific explorations had disclosed the great wealth of the region, and that she then determined to make exorbitant claims, trusting that part of them, at least, would stick. It is also their opinion that the document nullifies a large part of Lord Salisbury's reply to Secretary Olney, by showing that the English Premier has not been entirely disingenuous in his relation to matters of fact. Lord Salisbury, in undertaking to correct Mr. Olney's statement that the dispute began at least as early as 1814, which he says is founded on misconception, declares that the dispute on the subject of the frontier did not in fact commence until after the year 1810.

AN IMPORTANT DOCUMENT.

The newly-discovered document consists of a letter from Viscount Leveson (afterward Earl Granville), British Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to Sir James Stephen, Permanent Under-Secretary to the Colonies, written under instructions from Lord John Russell, Secretary for War and the Colonies. This letter shows exactly what went on inside the British Cabinet at the time. It will be remembered that Schomburg had been sent out by the Royal Geographical Society in 1835, with funds supplied by the Government, to explore the Orinoco country, and that, on his return to England, in 1839, and apparently as a result of his familiarity with the resources of that country, the Government chose him as the most available person to direct the rich territory in Guiana, which would naturally constitute England's share in any subsequent division. The note is as follows:—

Foreign Office, March 18, 1840.

"Sir,—I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th instant, enclosing copies and extracts of despatches and enclosures from Mr. Light, Governor of British Guiana, relative to the expediency of an arrangement made with Venezuela and the Netherlands Government, by which the boundaries of British Guiana may be accurately defined. With reference to that part of your letter in which you state that Lord John Russell considers it to be important that the boundaries of British Guiana should be ascertained and agreed upon, if possible, and that Mr. Schomburg's researches in these parts have qualified him in a peculiar manner to be of use, should the services of any person acquainted with the geography of British territory be needed, I am to state to you, that the course of proceedings which Lord Palmerston would suggest for the consideration of Lord John Russell is that a map of British Guiana should be made out according to the boundaries described by Mr. Schomburg, that the said map should be accompanied by a memoir, describing in detail the natural features which define and constitute the boundaries in question, and that copies of that map and memoir be presented to the Governments of Venezuela and Brazil, and of the Netherlands, as a statement of the British claim. That in the meanwhile British commissioners should be sent to erect marks in the ground in order to mark out the permanent boundary so claimed by Great Britain.



85

"It would then rest between the Governments above mentioned to make any objections which they might have to bring forward against these boundaries, and to state the reasons upon which such objections might be founded, and her Majesty's Government would then give such answers thereto as may appear proper and just.

"Lord Palmerston further considers that it would be expedient that the Brazilian detachment should be required to withdraw from Picara, and that the officer in command should be informed that any claim which Brazil may imagine itself to have to that village had been taken up by Great Britain, in order that it may be discussed and settled between the two Governments. I have, etc.,

"LEVESON.

"To James Stephen, Esq."

In reference to the last paragraph, it may be stated that Brazil did withdraw from Picara, and that the southern boundary of British Guiana has now advanced more than a hundred miles beyond that point.

BRITISH GUIANA VIEWS.

British Guiana newspapers received here to-day give much attention to President Cleveland's message on the opening of Congress. The Demerara Chronicle says:—"There is only one condition under which Great Britain is at all likely to consider the right of the United States to sole arbiter of the destinies of the other republics that exist upon this continent. It is that she declares a protectorate over them, make herself responsible for their wrong-doing, and their liabilities, and in fact assume toward them, in deed as well as in word, the part of a wet nurse." Continuing, the paper points out the outrages inflicted on British Guiana residents by the Venezuelans, and says it is fully possible for English statesmen to enter into any further controversies with the authorities at Caracas as long as those outrages are not repaired. It adds:—"And, furthermore, if that reparation is not speedily made, it is quite within the bounds of possibility that the character of the action adopted by Great Britain may render the necessity of further discussion respecting the boundary line between British Guiana and Venezuela altogether unnecessary."

BRITISH MINISTER EXPELLED.

Caracas, Venezuela, Dec. 31.—Great excitement has been caused here by a report that the Spanish Minister has been escorted out of Bogota, the capital of Colombia. According to this report, which is devoid of details, the extraordinary act was due to the Minister's denunciation of the treatment which the British Minister to the same republic is alleged to have suffered. The diplomatic representative of Great Britain, it is said, was summarily expelled, for what reason is not known.

According to the Almanach de Gotha for 1896, Great Britain is represented at Bogota by Mr. G. F. B. Jenner, resident Minister and Consul-General; and Spain by Baron de la Barre, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

TO DEFY ALL EUROPE.

Buenos Ayres, Argentina, via Galveston, Texas, Dec. 31.—A correspondent in Rio Janeiro, Brazil, sends word that the Government intends to call a meeting of all diplomatic representatives of South America early in the new year to consider means of common defence against European aggression.

It is denied in Rio Janeiro that Brazil will send troops to aid Venezuela.

A WAY OUT.

London, Dec. 31.—The Westminster Gazette this afternoon, in a leading article headed "A Way Out," says:—"While the question intrinsically is not important, incidentally it is of great importance that Great Britain cannot retreat from the position she has taken up, and the United States will not retract from theirs. The only method of escape from this deadlock which shall impose neither humiliation nor retreat on either side is to find something which is not arbitration, but which is as like it as possible." Continuing, the Westminster Gazette suggests that both countries agree upon a board of conciliation, not binding themselves, as in the case of arbitration, to accept its decisions; but on the chance of the conciliators being able to suggest a compromise acceptable to both countries. In conclusion, the Westminster Gazette remarks:—"We firmly believe that a couple of impartial, sensible men, say the Chief Justices of the two countries, could easily settle the matter by this method."

A FRENCH VIEW.

The Pall Mall Gazette this afternoon publishes an article from the pen of M. Florens, formerly French Minister for Foreign Affairs. Commenting upon it, the Pall Mall Gazette says:—"We wanted to hear what Frenchmen thought of Secretary Olney's extension of the Monroe doctrine, but he scarcely touches upon that, and improves the occasion by giving us some home truths. He accuses us of bullying and breaking faith."

M. Florens says:—"The French do not believe in the probability of war, as both nations are prone to weigh profit and loss. Moreover, we are accustomed to the cool prudence of England, which will increase in proportion as the youthful impetuosity of the United States gives its free course. France is far more disposed to accept the Monroe doctrine than you in England, but we reserve anterior rights, and do not agree with President Cleveland's conception of arbitration. We French are great advocates of arbitration, and would gladly see it extended to all international disputes. Notably, we believe



56
July 2. 96.

VENEZUELA TROUBLE.

COMPOSITION OF THE BOUNDARY COMMISSION.

Governor Morton's Message — He Upholds the Sacredness of the Monroe Doctrine — Three Important Old Maps Discovered — Their Bearing on the Dispute — Alleged Canadian Gunboats on the Lakes — Chicago's Alarmist Story — A Word From New South Wales.

Washington, D.C., Jan. 1.—No communication or suggestion of any kind regarding the Venezuelan dispute has come to the United States from Great Britain since Lord Salisbury's answer to Secretary Olney, and the question stands entirely on the correspondence up to that time and the subsequent action of Congress. It is known, however, that President Crespo has sent a direct message to the Executive branch of the United States.

Among officials and the representatives of the foreign powers interested it is said that no steps are contemplated for the present beyond the formation of the Venezuelan Commission.

On the part of Great Britain there is a growing impression in official quarters that indirect participation in the work of the commission will be secured. This may not be done by direct appearance before the commission, but by the submission of the British case in response to the wishes of the commission conveyed through Secretary Olney. By such a procedure the British Foreign Office would be giving no recognition to the jurisdiction of the commission, and yet would secure a hearing of its case.

BOUNDARY COMMISSION.

President Cleveland to-night announced the appointment of the Venezuelan Boundary Commission, as follows:—David J. Brewer, of Kansas, Justice United States Supreme Court; Richard H. Alvey, of Maryland, Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia; Andrew D. White, of New York, president of Cornell University, and an ex-United States Minister to Russia, Frederick R. Coudert, of New York, and Daniel C. Gilman, of Maryland.

THREE OLD MAPS.

New York, Jan. 1.—The World this morning says:—"Three ancient maps have been brought to light which throw new light on the Venezuelan question. They are from the collection of Dr. J. H. W. Stuckenberg, a

that difficulties such as may arise between the American Republics and European States are all of a nature to be settled by arbitration, to the great advantage of the parties interested. To this effect, we should like to see a permanent tribunal of arbitration erected. British diplomacy still retains a violent procedure which is out of place in our epoch. Unless she believes she is face to face with a stronger power than herself her weapons of discussion are ultimatums. Her unbridled manner does enormous harm to her reputation, whether it imposes her will on the people whose weakness obliges them to submit in humiliation, or whether she gives way, as she will have to do in the quarrel with Venezuela, before unseen resistance. Her moral authority was seriously impaired, for instance, by Lord Salisbury's menacing language to the Sultan.

A COLONIZATION PLAN.

Full details are given of the recent meeting at Demerara to form a colonization plan, in accordance with the wishes of Colonial Minister Chamberlain. The importance of this meeting has already attracted attention in London. It was decided to form a company with a capital stock of \$500,000, to colonize Crown lands along the Cuyuni river, "between the meridian of longitude 60 and the boundary of the colony, and between latitudes 5 and 7 north." These limits embrace the rich gold country, and are within the limits in dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela. The meeting perfected an organization, and framed a petition for the grant of Crown lands.

VIEW OF MR. MILLS, M.P.

London, Ont., Dec. 31.—(Special).—A large audience at the Liberal Club to-night listened to an address on the Monroe doctrine by Mr. David Mills, M.P. Mr Mills took strong grounds against President Cleveland's interpretation of the Monroe doctrine, and denied that it applied to the Venezuelan boundary dispute. The British did not object to the policy that no European colony should be established within the limits of any already constituted American State, but if discovery was not followed within a reasonable time by occupation or settlement, it was open to any other country to go in, and such occupation would wholly obliterate the imperfect title which might have been acquired in the first instance by discovery. The United States had no right to interfere in the present dispute, and were overriding the principles of international law. The Venezuelans, Dutch, and English had an imperfect title to the disputed territory, but the latter had settled it for fifty-four years, and England was therefore in the right. The English would be potrooms if they did not stand up for their rights. The United States interpretation was one which no European country could recognize. Great Britain was not simply a European State, but a world-wide State, and had come here to stay. Where British subjects were, in America, Europe, Africa or Asia, they would be ready to defend British interests. Mr. Mills was warmly applauded throughout.

well known writer and lecturer on social science and philosophy, of Cambridge, Mass. The three maps, which deal with ancient Guiana lines, are as follows:—First, a map of the Dutch Guiana colonies prepared for the Colonial Department of the Batavian Republic at about the time Dutch Guiana was being ceded to Great Britain, printed in Amsterdam in 1798. This map shows a line starting from a Dutch post at the mouth of the Orinoco, and drawn straight into the interior, which is marked as the limit of 'Spanish possessions.' Second, a map of America, made by G. Delisle, "First Geographer to the King," for Louis XV. of France, printed in Amsterdam, where nearly all maps were then printed, in 1744. This map shows Dutch Guiana with a line practically the same as the Schomburg line. Third, a map of America, made by John Janvier, a geographer, and printed in Venice in 1776. This is the same, in a general way, as the French map, but shows the Dutch settlement of New Middleburg considerably west of the Essequibo line.

GOVERNOR MORTON'S MESSAGE.

Albany, N.Y., Jan. 1.—Governor Morton, in his annual message to the New York State Legislature, takes cognizance of the Venezuelan question in the following comment:—"The doctrine formulated by President Monroe, and which has since borne his name, has become so well established in the American national policy that there is no room for doubt as to the opinion of our people concerning it. New York now has a population nearly equal to that of the entire Union when Mr. Monroe became President, and our peculiar geographical position, the location within our borders of the American metropolises, and the vast and complicated commercial interests of our State, justify us in feeling an especial concern in the present unhappy agitation. Any disturbance of the existing friendly relations between the United States and Great Britain cannot fail to have a serious effect. Because of the possible harmful consequences of such disturbance, I deem myself justified in making this reference to the larger affairs of the nation, in which we feel such a peculiar and vital interest. I cannot believe that the relations between our country and Great Britain will be ruptured or seriously impaired by the misunderstanding now existing between that country and Venezuela concerning the proper location of the boundary line of their possessions in South America. Arbitration affords a simple, humane, and honourable method of determining national disputes; and it is scarcely conceivable at this period of the world's history that any great nation is willing to take the responsibility of the needless sacrifice of human life, and the wanton destruction of property, which would be the inevitable result of an armed conflict."

GUNBOATS ON THE LAKES.

Chicago, Jan. 1.—A local paper says:—"Seventy-eight years ago this country and Great Britain made an agreement limiting the naval force each of them should maintain on the great lakes. That agreement, which has been kept faithfully by the United States, has been violated grossly in spirit by the Dominion authorities. For instance, Canada has three vessels which are actually gunboats, but which nominally belong to the Canadian fish commission, and in times of peace are used to overhaul American vessels suspected of fishing in Canadian waters. They are steel vessels with ram bows, and are equipped with modern six-pounder guns. These vessels, which have crews drilled in the use of guns, are much of the time in Georgian bay. They are kept there so that in the event of hostilities they could command Lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior without having to pass any fort which might be constructed on the Detroit river. If war were to break out these naval vessels would be in Lake Michigan within 48 hours, and would proceed to shell or put to ransom every city on it. These ships have guns which can throw shells three or four miles. Chicago has no guns. The city would be given an option of being burned down and having the water cribs destroyed, or of paying a ransom of thirty or forty millions. The citizens would choose the latter, and thus help the Canadians to defray their military expenses. For a long time, too, the Dominion Government has made arrangements for the conversion of the large fleet of Canadian iron and steel steam freight boats into war vessels. They were constructed with portholes, and made with decks strong enough to bear the weight of gun platforms and guns. These platforms and guns are all in readiness, and it would take a very short time to put these propellers in readiness to make raids on America's ports. The Canadians have accumulated great quantities of ammunition and guns, and have men who are skilled in the use of the latter. All this has been going on for years, and this Government has been hopelessly remiss. The result is that the lake coasts and cities are utterly defenceless, while the Canadian ones are safe. There must be a sudden change of policy. Congress must appropriate at once for guns, which must be stored at convenient points. It must build 'fish boats' to look after Canadian poachers. American propellers must be modified and strengthened, so that they can be used for offensive and defensive purposes."

"On Monday the Chicago battalion of naval militia will be mustered into service. Every lake city should have such an organization. But there should be guns provided, and the so-called militia drilled in their use. Then they will be of the greatest value in the case of war."

53

CONTAGION OF UNREST.

Sydney N.S.W., Jan. 1.—Premier Reid, speaking last night at a meeting at which the Governor, Right Hon. Henry Robert Hampden, presided, dwelt on his belief that the commercial troubles of the last eighteen months were over, said that our generally sensible cousins in America had caught the contagion of universal unrest, and he feared that there were thousands of Americans who would plunge the whole Anglo-Saxon race into the most wanton and disastrous war of the century over a few square miles of fever-breeding jungle, whither no sane man in the forty-four States of the Union would send his pet dog. So stupendous a crime was surely impossible. The hearts of the Anglo-Saxon race were too full of kindred blood. There was a united Britain and united Canada, and he hoped soon to add a united Australia. The Australian nation might soon have to stand shoulder to shoulder if it was to stand at all. He never liked the military argument for federation, but they could not shut their eyes to the fact that if they did not come together they might soon be driven together by the sheer force of events.

50
1

THE GLOBE, TORONTO,

THURSDAY, JANUARY 2, 1896.

HOW WARS ARE MADE.

The war clouds have blown over and the sky is so clear that ordinary observers can actually see the real influences which have been at work promoting hostilities. Early in April last the Venezuelan Government granted a valuable tract of land which it did not own to a syndicate composed of three wealthy Americans, Mr. Bowman, a banker, of Grand Rapids; Mr. Fisher, formerly Manager of the Duluth & Winnipeg Railway, and Mr. Grant, a contractor, of Faribault, Minn. The tract comprises 15,000,000 acres rich in mahogany, rosewood, dye-woods and minerals. These gentlemen comprise what is known as the Manoa Company. Shortly after they received the grant the visit of an American Admiral to Caracas was made the occasion of one of those familiar though mysterious spontaneous demonstrations which occasionally astonish the most undemonstrative countries. Of course the Monroe doctrine had a prominent place, and the newspapers in Caracas demanded that the Government erect a statue to President Monroe. The next move was in July, when Secretary Olney wrote his wonderful letter to the British Government announcing his willingness to settle all things on the western hemisphere, including the boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela. This was followed by a meeting of a few gentlemen in New York to reorganize the "Manoa Company," and although it was announced that the company intended to take possession of concessions in the disputed territory it awakened no attention. The arguments of Lord Salisbury and President Cleveland's famous declaration are successive links in the chain.

The most important feature of the case, however, is furnished by the vig-

orous and even eloquent letters in The New York Sun, which gave a most extended application to the principles of the Monroe doctrine and urged on the people the necessity of asserting them. These letters were written anonymously, but The Minneapolis Sunday Times throws light on their authorship in an illustrated sketch of President Bowman of the Manoa Company. In telling of his work in "preventing England from continuing her land-grabbing." The Sunday Times announces that he was "the author of the famous letters which appeared in The New York Sun." In a strain of eulogy it is stated that "President Bowman within a few days promises to play an important part in the negotiations with England." It might have said that he had already done so. "He received a communication from Washington yesterday," says The Sunday Times, "asking him if he would take the lead in showing the party of commissioners over the disputed territory." President Bowman is quoted as saying that the Schomberg line runs through the property of the Manoa Company, that the members of the company are "nearly all citizens of the United States," that they "have not renounced their loyalty," and that the United States Government is in consequence bound to protect them, "whether there is a Monroe doctrine or not." The New York Commercial Bulletin says that the first boundary the Government should trace is "the boundary between a private speculation in lands with a clouded title and a great national policy." Could all the destructive wars of modern times be traced to their sources these would doubtless be often found in the private greed of a few unscrupulous wire-pullers.

The Mail and Empire.

3d Jan'y. 1896

VENEZUELA AND THE WIRE-PULLERS.

There are two questions which have not been fully considered, namely, whether the financial trouble caused by President Cleveland's menacing language has been the result of an attempt by prominent personages to bolster up land speculations of persons with political influence, and whether the nature of the forthcoming message and consequent depreciation of the stock markets was known to persons behind the scenes, and exploited by them for their own private gain. It is certain that anyone knowing beforehand the tenor of the President's forthcoming message could have coined money. No one insinuates for a moment that the President was knowingly a party to either of such proceedings, but this cannot be conceded with regard to wire-pullers and political hangers-on.

The New York Journal of Commerce—one of the most influential American dailies, and one possessing a high character—states facts which point to unsuspected laxness and corruption in high official quarters. In judging of the probability of such charges being true, we must bear in mind that only a few years ago the then chairman of the House was proved to have corruptly assisted great corporations in getting their bills passed through the House; and that it was only by the revolt of high-minded members of the Republican party that he was prevented from becoming President. In Monday's issue we quoted a long statement from the New York Journal of Commerce which, if true, proves that some of the wire-pullers and politicians had an inkling beforehand of the President's threatening message. If that was a fact, then one or more of them must have been in a position to make large sums on the stock markets. It does not even insinuate that the President had anything to do with such corruption, but with the average American politicians and wire-pullers the case is different. What strength-

ens the case is that an American contributor in the Fortnightly Review, when stating the American view of the conflicting claims of England and Venezuela, appears to have known beforehand the substance of Mr. Olney's letter of last July to Lord Salisbury. In the words of the Journal of Commerce, the contributor thus seems to have "had means of communication with the American Department of State." When such foreknowledge existed in one case, why not in one subsequent to the war scare? The Journal of Commerce states that a few weeks ago a meeting was held in New York to organize a company to take over the concession of the obsolete Manoa Company. Originally the latter company claimed a concession granted by Venezuela in 1884 of a part of the region in dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela; but the former protested so strongly that the latter cancelled the concession. In April, 1895, Venezuela granted to "some of the wealthiest and most influential persons in the United States," names being given, fifteen millions of acres on the borders of British Guiana, and these lands are stated to be enormously rich in minerals and timber. Last fall the obsolete Manoa Company was also resuscitated, seemingly the same parties being interested, for the purpose of taking possession under the cancelled concession of land in dispute between the two countries, "the syndicate being composed of some of the wealthiest men in the U. S., and of persons prominent in both political parties, millions of dollars being at stake." If, as stated, prominent men of both parties are interested in these land speculations, that would explain the unanimity of Congress in endorsing the President's veiled threats. The Journal of Commerce sarcastically observes "that the boundary which we (U. S.) ought to trace first of all, is the boundary between a private speculation in lands with a clouded title and a great national policy." It is simply monstrous that the investing and commercial public should be

9

victimized out of millions of dollars in order to sustain the land speculations of influential politicians; or that persons behind the scenes in possession of State secrets might make money. There is so much laxity in high quarters in the United States, and so many ways of obtaining surreptitious information, and the facts stated by the Journal of Commerce are so precise, that it would not be surprising to learn that the charges in question had been substantiated. Additional light has been thrown upon this phase of the question by a letter by Mr. C. C. Fitz Gerald appearing in a recent issue of the 'New York Evening Post,' which paper, in referring to it editorially, says:—"It appears from this communication that the Manoa Company, a New York corporation, hitherto unknown, holds a grant from the Venezuelan Government comprising a territory 'almost as large as New England.' Mr. Fitz Gerald contends that no part of it is within the limits of British Guiana, because the terms of the grant carry it only 'to the limit of British Guiana.' The naivete of this argument is charming when we remember that the boundary line of the two countries has been a matter of dispute for half a century. The assumption of Fitz Gerald that he and Kelly and the other Manoans know where that boundary runs, while the authorities of British Guiana do not, shows that he holds a clue which the civilized world might give millions to possess. Possessing this secret, the Manoans went boldly forward and 'properly removed' the notices posted by the authorities of British Guiana as warnings against trespassers. The trespassing, according to Fitz Gerald, was on the part of the British Government against 'an American company' which, but for this interference with its rights, 'would be in full operation to-day, giving employment to thousands of American citizens.' Moreover, he tells us that, 'thanks to the attitude of President Cleveland, it will now be possible to do business under the American flag in Venezuela without fear of future encroachment,' implying that this territory, almost as large as New England,

"has already been annexed to the United States by the determined action of President Cleveland and in 'virtue of Mr. Olney's views of the 'sovereignty' of this country on the American continent. If this is the case, we shall expect Fitz Gerald and Kelly to be the first Senators from the State of Manoa, and we are glad to be assured that 'they have no Populist or free silver cranks and have no difficulty in 'maintaining a solid gold basis.' The assertions made in this letter will receive further consideration, and in the meantime it is right and proper that the reasons for "President Cleveland's attitude" should be carefully observed.

THE COMMISSION.

Mr. Cleveland's Choice Freely
Criticized.

THEY HAVE NO WEIGHT.

Not Satisfactory in Wash-
ington.

THE PROBABLE EVIDENCE.

Silver Senators and the Reve-
nue Bill.

Another Interview With Michael Davitt
— An ex-Consul's Opinion of Canada—
Views in Various Quarters.

Washington, Jan. 2.—The Venezue-
lian Minister promptly cabled his Gov-
ernment this morning of the boundary
commission's appointment and the
names of its members. The Venezue-
lian officials in Caracas had already as-
sumed that the commission would be
authorized by Congress, and had lost

no time in preparing that country's
side of the controversy for the com-
mission's consideration. All their evi-
dence has been complete for some
years, but much depends on whether
the commission will decide to visit
Venezuela or to hold all its sessions in
this country. President Crespo has no-
tified Minister Andrade to inform him
as soon as possible of the resolution of
the commission on this point that
there may be no delay in submitting
the Venezuelan case. The documents
are exceedingly voluminous, and in-
clude a large number of valuable
maps, which must be sent to Washing-
ton if the commission concludes to sit
here. All these documents are now in
Caracas, but ready for immediate
transmission. They could be present-
ed to the State Department within ten
days of the notification that they were
required here. Until that time the
work of the commission must be neces-
sarily altogether of a preliminary char-
acter. If the organization of the body
is perfected, as is now expected, early
next week some time must elapse be-
fore the American Ministers at The
Hague and Madrid could secure and
transmit copies of Dutch and Spanish
archives, which are considered to be
essential to an impartial adjudica-
tion of the opposing claims. Venezuela
is, however, prepared to furnish certi-
fied copies of all these documents that
tend to prove her right to the disput-
ed territory, and perhaps Great Brit-
ain will consent to supply all others.
The probable attitude of the English
Government towards the commission
evokes the keenest curiosity. While it
is the prevailing opinion that it will
embrace the opportunity to state its
side of the case without agreeing to
be bound by the findings, it is not be-
lieved that this can be done without
considerable delay. It is understood
that, although the English have ac-
cumulated all possible evidence to sup-
port their claim to the entire Orinoco
region, they had never expected to be
compelled to produce it, and
have not arranged it in
such shape that it could be promptly
submitted. It would not be surprising,
therefore, in case Great Britain should
take cognizance of the appointment of
the American commission, if a request
should be received from Lord Salisbury
asking for a sufficient delay to enable
his Government to prepare its docu-
mentary proofs. In any event, the
actual discussion of the merits of the
controversy can hardly commence in
side of the next two weeks, and there
is no probability of a decision for sev-

eral months. If the investigation is to be made as thorough as contemplated.

THE COMMISSIONERS.

Justice Brewer, the leading member of the commission, was born in Smyrna, Asia Minor, in 1837, his father at that time being one of the American missionaries in that part of the world. He is a graduate of Yale, and a nephew of David Dudley Field, in whose office in New York City Justice Brewer



JUSTICE BREWER.

was a law student. In 1858 he removed from New York to the west, where he engaged in the practice of his profession in Kansas City, Mo., and afterwards in Leavenworth, Kas. He occupied various important positions, including those of Judge of the First Judicial Court of the State of Kansas, and Judge of the Kansas Supreme Court. He was also at one time President of the Kansas Board of Education. In politics he has been a Republican. He was appointed Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court by ex-President Harrison, in 1892.

Judge Richard Henry Alvey is a native of Maryland. He held various judicial offices in that State, and was designated by Gov. Hamilton as Chief Justice of the Court of Appeal of Maryland to succeed Judge Bartol. This place he resigned to accept the office of Chief Justice of the Federal Court



JUSTICE RICHARD H. ALVEY.

of Appeals in the District of Columbia. Upon the death of Chief Justice Waite during Mr. Cleveland's first term some of the Justices of the Supreme Court who had been impressed with the opinions delivered by Judge Alvey on the appellate bench of Maryland urged the President to appoint him Chief Justice of the United States. This the President was disposed to do, but it is understood was deterred by the fact that Judge Alvey is a Southern man, and it was feared that for that position to go to the south might create animosities.

Daniel Colt Gilman is distinguished as an educator. He is a graduate of Yale College, and has been an extensive traveller in Europe, where he gave great attention to the social, political and educational condition of various countries. In 1875 he was elected the first President of Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. Among the many works that he has written is a memoir of James Monroe, which was prepared for the American Statesman. His fame as a scientist and historian is world-wide. Mr. Gilman is said not to be affiliated with any political party, but his tendencies are inclined toward Republicanism. He is a native of Connecticut, and is in his 65th year.

Andrew Dickson White of New York is also distinguished as an educator. He is a native of New York, having



ANDREW D. WHITE.

been born at Homer, in that State, in November, 1832. He is also a graduate of Yale, and was formerly President of Cornell University. He was United States Minister to Germany from 1879 till 1881, and represented this Government at St. Petersburg during Harrison's administration. Mr. White was also one of the United States commissioners to San Domingo, and aided in preparing the report of that commission.

Frederic R. Coudert is the head of the law firm of Coudert Bros. of New York City. He has a world-wide reputation as an advocate and an authority on international law. He served with distinction on the Bering Sea commission. Mr. Coudert was Presi-



FREDERIC R. COUDERT.

dent of the Manhattan Club for several years, and is now a member of nearly a dozen prominent New York clubs. He is a Democrat, and is classed as an anti-Tammany man. He is a brilliant orator and a shrewd advocate. He has been one of the leaders of the New York bar for many years, and has been engaged in many famous cases. His firm administers the affairs of many French estates and investors in this country.

THE COMMISSION CRITICIZED.

The few members of the House who were about the Capitol to-day showed only the most languid interest in the President's Venezuelan commission. The principal regret expressed was that the President had not selected men of international reputation, such as ex-Ministers Phelps and Lincoln. It was felt that such names would carry greater weight in Great Britain and on the continent than those of other men who might be more renowned as jurists but whose reputations are local. The fact developed to-day that strong influence was brought to bear on Secretary Olney to create a commission of five persons, two of whom should be distinguished foreigners and the remainder Americans of equal prominence. One of the names suggested was that of Prof. James F. Brice, whose history of the American Commonwealth is a standard work among the English-speaking people on both sides of the Atlantic. It was represented to Secretary Olney that if Mr. Brice and some well-known German, for example, could be induced to accept places on the commission, its conclusions would be accepted with much more favor by Europeans than those where the members were distinctively American. Some of the Republicans were disposed to criticize the President's selection of two college professors, since, it was contended, gentlemen holding such offices are never conspicuous either as lawyers or geographers. It is felt, too, that Messrs. White and Gilman are not favorable to the Monroe doctrine, although it is believed that their attitude upon this question will not influence their work in determining the divisional line between British Guiana and Venezuela. It must be confessed, however, that the commission does not give the satisfaction that was expected. Members generally believe that it will perform its duties as well as any other commission that might be formed, but the lack of any great name associated with it will, it is felt, weaken the effect of its work across the Atlantic. Such of the Democratic Representatives as were spoken to professed ignorance of the capabilities of the majority of the commission, but the opinion was general among them that the President had made no mistake.

MR. COUDERT'S OPINION.

New York, Jan. 2.—Frederic R. Coudert said to-day he would act as a member of the commission appointed by President Cleveland to inquire into the rights of Great Britain and of Venezuela in the disputed South American territory. Mr. Coudert said:—

"I presume a meeting will be arranged at the earliest possible moment, that the investigation may be pushed with all possible despatch. I do not believe that it will be necessary for us to go to Venezuela as a body, for I do not see that we can get anything there that we could not have access to in this country. We will simply have to get at the records. Doubtless some of these are in the possession of Spain and Holland. I believe that those Governments will give us access to these records. Why should they not? We are simply investigating to get at facts. Do I believe that England will aid us? It is hard to say what she will do. I do not see why she should not, since the result of our investigation may be the end of the whole matter. It is possible that one or two of our commission may have to go abroad or to South America to look up records, but I think most of the work can be done in this country."

THE SILVER SENATORS.

Washington, Jan. 2.—But little progress was made in the Senate Committee on Finance toward an agreement on the House bond bill. There was a great deal of informal discussion, during which the absolute and undeniable fact was demonstrated that the silver men knew their power and proposed to exercise it. The committee remained in session an hour and a half, when a recess was taken until to-morrow morning. Immediately after the session the Democrats, together with Mr. Jones of Nevada, held a conference and discussed the bill which they will offer as a substitute for the House bill. Mr. Jones (Dem., Ark.) was appointed as a sub-committee to draw the bill and present it to the silver men before the meeting to-morrow. This substitute will, it is believed, provide for legislation that will open the United States mints to the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. The Republicans also held a conference in regard to finance and the tariff.

Senator Squire has called a meeting of the commission on coast defences for immediate consideration of his bill on fortifications and coast defences. Gen. Craighill, chief of the Engineering Department, will make his statement to the committee to-morrow as to the needs of the sea coast cities and his ability to erect the fortifications if the appropriation of \$87,000,000 shall be made as called for by the bill of Senator Squire.

MR. DAVITT'S VIEWS.

New York, Jan. 2.—Michael Davitt, M.P. for South Mayo and East Kerry, was seen by a reporter of the United Press in this city to-day. The father of the Land League arrived from Washington yesterday evening. He is on his way home to Ireland after a nine months' tour in the Australian colonies, and looks strong and robust from his experience of antipodean cli-

mates. In reply to a question about the attack on the Transvaal republic the Irish member said:—"The credit for the countermanding of the invasion of the Transvaal is not due to Chamberlain and Salisbury, in my humble opinion, but to Cleveland and Olney. The manly and menacing attitude which Uncle Sam took upon the Venezuelan question has compelled England to condemn a freebooting expedition, which would otherwise have had the political blessing of that pre-eminent land-grabbing nation. Make no mistake about it, the London Foreign Office has had to send to Jameson. England would have had very little to dread from the action of Germany if John Bull had not been in serious trouble with the Monroe doctrine. John has stood aloof from the triple alliance, but not Germany, Austria and Italy. This has given him the balance of power in Europe, and the prestige of such a position enabled him to roam around the world in search of little nations to bully and desirable countries to grab. France, Germany and Italy are country-stealing Governments, too, and a kind of 'honor among thieves' understanding existed between England and the chief European powers, which left each free to steal where the others were not concerned. Had there been no fear of the United States in the English Foreign Office over the Venezuela affair just at this moment no action would have been taken to arrest the freebooting Jameson raid. Germany would not have intervened, because such action would have invited Lord Salisbury to throw in the weight of England's influence with France and Russia against the triple alliance, and this would reduce Germany's position and prestige in European affairs below the level of that of her French enemy. John Bull would have 'winked the other eye' at the attack upon the Boer republic, and a gallant little nation would possibly have been robbed of its independence and added to the bounds of the British Empire. This crime has been prevented by the indirect intervention of the United States. Germany's hands are freed by the action of President Cleveland on the Venezuela question, and England in terror at finding herself between two such fires wires frantically to Jameson to turn back. No, sir, neither Chamberlain nor Cecil Rhodes would have spoken a word in condemnation of this lawless invasion of the Transvaal. If this country had not made clear to Salisbury and Chamberlain that no bullying or stealing of weak nations on the continent of America will be permitted by the people of the United States."

"Then you think, Mr. Davitt, that this raid upon the Transvaal has not been the result of sudden impulses or the sole work of Jameson and his followers?"



"Nothing of the kind. The English jingoes have never forgiven the Boers the humiliating defeat of Majuba Hill. Gladstone was denounced as a traitor and covered by the jingo press because he did not hurl the whole force of England against the little republic which humbled the pride of the British Empire in the dust of Africa. The Tories have long burned to wipe out this disgrace, and it has been a well-known fact in London political circles during the past two years that Englishmen in the Transvaal were conspiring with Rhodes, Jameson and company to grab that country, wipe out the Boers in vengeance for Majuba Hill, and thereby obtain possession of the rich gold mines of Johannesburg. This scheme would have been accomplished had not a Boers' political providence in the guise of President James Monroe stalked across the stage of human affairs and arrested England in her attempt to do in South America what Jameson and company, acting for England's jingoes, were long contemplating in South Africa. America ought, in my judgment, to do three things on the first available opportunity: that is, admit the republic of Honolulu into the family of the United States communities, recognize the Cuban patriots who are, I hope, whipping the Spaniards, and thirdly, instruct her Admirals in the Mediterranean to fling a shell or two into the Sultan's palace at Constantinople the next time a single Christian of any nation is murdered or outraged by the unspeakable Turk. This act would tell the cowardly Christian monarchies of Europe that there is at least one great nation of humanity which has no dread of the infamous Ottoman Empire. A demonstration of this kind would place the republic of the United States in the very forefront of the great powers of the world." Mr. Davitt leaves for Ireland next week.

NO ARBITRATION.

London, Jan. 2.—In reply to an inquiry on the subject, the Colonial Secretary, Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, stated to-day that the report that the Government was disposed to arbitrate the question of the British Zululana boundary out of deference to President Cleveland's threats was absolutely unfounded.

BRITISH COMMENTS.

London, Jan. 2.—The Westminster Gazette, in an article on the subject of the appointment of the United States Venezuelan Boundary Commission, says: "Great Britain should treat the Venezuelan Commission with perfect politeness and give them all possible information, although not admitting their jurisdiction, but should not allow British officials to give evidence in their public capacity."

The St. James' Gazette remarks the absence of ex-United States Ministers Lincoln and Phelps from the commission, but highly commends the appointments of Messrs. White and Gilman.

The Daily News, commenting on the appointment of the Venezuelan high commission by President Cleveland, will to-morrow say that the nominations will win general respect in England where public opinion will readily recognize a commission which diplomacy must necessarily ignore. Its report cannot fail to be instructive to both sides. During the interval of the inquiry the jingoes of both countries will confer the greatest possible benefit on humanity by not making a noise.

The Morning Post will say:—"None of the members of the commission, except Justice Brewer and Hon. Andrew D. White, have any claim to occupy the great position assigned to them; while Frederic R. Coudert, on any principle of fair play and common sense, is disqualified by his public declarations. The position of the gentlemen appointed is in complete harmony with the overbearing language of President Cleveland's Venezuelan message."

The Standard will say:—"It would not be for Englishmen to criticize the gentlemen who have consented to assist the President's studies of political geography. If their names command the confidence of the American people that is all that can be expected or desired, though we shall watch their doings with curiosity and even respect. That will be the beginning of the end of our interest."

The Chronicle will say it must be admitted that President Cleveland has succeeded in forming a body that is calculated to commend respect.

The Times will say:—"Excepting Mr. Coudert, all that can be said for the nominees is that while they are reputable and may be absolutely fair-minded men they have no such weight as will command for their conclusions any recognition outside of the United States. Unfortunately, even if the nominees were more impressive, their value would be impaired by the addition of Mr. Coudert, whose offensive prejudgment of the matter in controversy is not only insulting, but is manifestly actuated by a bias that is entirely incompatible to contemplate in his message." The paper reiterates that it is impossible for Great Britain to in any way officially recognize the commission.

CANADA'S DEFENCES.

(Montreal Star cable.)—Though the excitement has been at fever heat respecting the Transvaal matter, interest was also aroused by the statement in the Canadian speech from the throne that the militia defence of Canada are to be strengthened. I understand

that the Government here fully realizes Canada's grave peril from invasion if war were declared by the United States, and it is quite prepared to co-operate in putting the Canadian militia and defences on a first-class peace footing if Canada seeks the British aid. Nevertheless, the earnest hope is expressed that the Canadian Parliament will refrain from adding fuel to the flame not yet extinct by any heated language or extravagant plans. The highest authorities here applaud Canada's calm attitude under the great provocation of abuse, and note the solidarity of the Canadians from the Atlantic to the Pacific on the side of Great Britain. They, however, admit that hasty legislative action at this moment may imperil a peaceful agreement. The St. James' Gazette to-night notes how great a percentage of the members of the Canadian Parliament had United Empire Loyalists for grandfathers, and says that this is an important element in the present situation. A break in Pender's cable to South Africa during the present crisis, it is expected, will lead to an extension of the Pacific cable project to South Africa, as suggested at the Ottawa conference.

Vienna, Jan. 2.—A report is current on the Bourse here that Russia has offered a gold loan of 60,000,000 roubles to the United States.

THE DAILY MAIL

JANUARY 3, 1896.

VENEZUELA TROUBLE.

SKETCH OF THE MEN FORMING THE BOUNDARY COMMISSION.

Their First Work Will be in Washington—

Their Action Will be Untrammelled by the Administration -- President Cleveland's Intended Surprise—New York Chamber of Commerce Favours Arbitration -- Mr. Michael Davitt's Abuse of England—Canada's Attitude.

Washington, Jan. 2.—Mr. Justice Brewer, who heads the Venezuelan Commission named last night by President Cleveland, was seen at his residence to-day by a representative of the Associated Press. The justice had not received official notification of his appointment, and in the absence of this he was in some doubt as to his course in accepting the unofficial announcement and communicating with the Executive authorities. Until this is done, he is loath to discuss the commission's plan of procedure, as everything will depend upon the conference with his associate commissioners. Mr. Brewer said he had no doubt the sessions of the commission would be held in Washington, as it was the most accessible point, and, moreover, much of the documentary evidence, maps, etc. which would initiate the inquiry were to be found here. For the present the justice will continue his work on the Supreme bench, as it is felt that the preliminaries of organization and the assembling of evidence may continue through the present month, leaving the more serious work of examination by the commission to begin about February 1, when the Supreme Court takes a month's recess.

When asked if the commission was likely to go abroad to pursue its investigation, Justice Brewer said it might, but that the State Department had prepared certain features of evidence regarded as essential, and which would serve as a groundwork for the investigation. In that event, doubtless, this would be first gone over, and then the commission would determine what further steps were required to ascertain the facts. It might be that Venezuela and England would be asked to present their respective cases. Certainly, in a question of this character, there would be the desire for the fullest information from all available sources. When this documentary evidence was all in hand, the question might then arise as to the desirability

of verifying certain features of it by a personal inspection of the originals of the documents in the archives of Spain, Holland, or other countries. This would involve a trip abroad, and there was the possibility that it might become desirable personally to view the locality of contention along the Guiana-Venezuela line. Justice Brewer illustrated this by referring to some of the boundary contests over Mexican land grants, a number of which have been decided by him.

FREEDOM OF ACTION.

It is authoritatively stated on behalf of the Administration that the Venezuelan Commission will be absolute master of its own procedure, fixing the time and place of its meetings, and determining for itself whether or not it shall visit foreign countries; which class of evidence may be taken into consideration, and how interested Governments may be represented before the tribunal. This independence of action is deemed necessary to secure to the commission's findings that degree of weight and respect among other nations that can be attained only through a knowledge that the body is free from any restraint or obligation to the United States Government, which has created it. Our Government will occupy the status of an exact neutral body. The State Department will lend such assistance as may be required to facilitate the work of the commission in procuring transportation for it on a United States warship, if that is desired, and in supplying any records in its possession that may be called for. But it will not allow itself to be placed in the position of taking sides as to the merits of the controversy between Great Britain and Venezuela; but will not undertake to present the Venezuelan case, nor will it endeavour to offset any evidence that leans toward the British contention. From the beginning of the negotiations with Great Britain touching the Venezuelan boundary the United States Government has especially refrained from committing itself to a recognition of the justice of the Venezuelans' claim, and has limited itself strictly to the contention that this was a proper matter for settlement by arbitration. Moreover, the attitude which the department has assumed towards the commission itself is regarded as a sufficient negative to the assumption in Europe that the United States Government purposed constituting itself the arbitrator in this dispute, for the commission will be as independent of the United States Government as it will be of any other Government.

PERSONNEL OF THE COMMISSION

The commission is regarded here among those who had an opportunity to see the list of names after they were made public as a very satisfactory one, whose opinions and conclusions will be received by the American public with that confidence which the standing of the members of the commission in the public eye inspires.

Justice Brewer is a Republican in politics and about 58 years old. He is a graduate of Yale, and has spent a considerable time in the practice of his profession in Kansas, where he filled a number of judicial offices. In 1884 he was appointed Circuit Court judge of the United States for the Eighth district, and was appointed associate justice of the Supreme Court in December, 1889, by President Harrison.

Richard H. Alvey is a Democrat in politics, and a man of marked legal ability. It was the great reputation he gained as judge in the Maryland courts which led President Cleveland, in the absence of political influence on Judge Alvey's part, to appoint him to the position of Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals of this district. He is about 60 years old.

Andrew Dixon White was born in Homer, N.Y., November 7, 1837. He was graduated from Yale in 1853, and spent two years in Europe, half of the time as attaché of the American Legation at St. Petersburg. He returned home in 1855, and in the following year was elected professor of history and English literature in the University of Michigan. In 1862 he resigned because of ill-health, and returned to his former home in Syracuse, where he was elected to the State Senate. He was re-elected in 1864. In 1876 he became first president of Cornell University, which post he filled until February, 1885, when failing health compelled him to retire. He was one of the commissioners to Santo Domingo in 1871. He was president of the Republican State Convention of New York in October of the same year, and was United States Minister to Germany from 1879 to 1881. In 1892 President Harrison appointed Mr. White Minister to Russia to succeed Charles Emory Smith. He is a Republican in politics. Mr. White has published many volumes, besides contributing to periodicals. Among his best known works are "The Warfare of Science," "The New Germany," "A History of the Doctrine of Comets," and "A Word from the North-West."

Frederick R. Coudert is a Democrat in politics, and is one of the best known men of the bar in New York. Mr. Coudert was of the counsel for the United States in the Behring Sea Commission, and in that capacity he made one of the most eloquent and effective speeches delivered in behalf of the American contentions.

The last named member of the commission, Daniel C. Gilman, is president of Johns Hopkins University, and is well known as an authority on international law. He was at one time president of the University of California, and was later called to take up the work of organization of the university of which he is now at the head. One of his principal acquisitions is the mastery of the science of physical geography, he having studied in Germany under a prominent instructor, and in this country under Guyot. He is the author of a life of

99

President Monroe. Mr. Gilman has never figured prominently in politics. At the White House it is stated that he has no politics, but his proclivities are understood to be Republican.

IN FAVOUR OF ARBITRATION.

New York, Jan. 2.—At the meeting of the Chamber of Commerce to-day the Committee on Foreign Commerce and the Revenue Laws presented the following resolution:—"Resolved, that the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, being profoundly impressed with the gravity of the situation which threatens the peace now and happily so long existing between Great Britain and the United States, appeals to the common sense, and the common interests, of the people of both countries, to avert the calamity of war by a resort to arbitration or other friendly negotiation, which has so often been found to be a sufficient and satisfactory mode of settling international disputes, and to which both Governments stand committed by profession, precedent, and the humanitarian spirit of the age."

General Carl Schurz, in support of the resolution, deplored war, and expressed the belief that the critical time will be when the Venezuelan Commission makes its final report. General Schurz then submitted a resolution suggesting the appointment of a Board of Inquiry or Advisory Council, to be composed of men of international renown.

Prolonged applause followed the close of General Schurz's address, and Mr. Thurber then arose and agreed to tack the resolution on to that of his committee.

In support of the resolution, Mr. Charles Stewart Smith read the reports of Secretary of War Lamont and General Miles, to show that we are not in a position to resist the operations of a great navy like that of Great Britain.

Mr. Francis C. Moore opposed the resolution, saying it was a reflection upon the President of the United States. It is the duty of American citizens to follow the lead of the President and Congress. (Cries of "No, no, not at all.") The original resolution, including General Schurz's addition, was carried, there being only six votes in the negative.

AN INTENDED SURPRISE.

A special to the Evening Post from Washington, D.C., says:—"There is excellent authority for the statement that a published newspaper interview prevented a surprise which President Cleveland had in store for the public in connection with the Venezuelan Commission. Mr. Cleveland has always had a profound respect and admiration for James Bryce, the author of 'The American Commonwealth.' Owing to Mr. Bryce's remarkable acquaintance with and attitude of firmness toward the institutions of the United States, coupled with the fact that he is a

loyal British subject, the President believed that it would have a reassuring effect upon the public mind on both sides of the Atlantic if Mr. Bryce were to be invited to serve as a member of the boundary commission. While the proposal to invite him was still under consideration appeared the newspaper interview, in which Mr. Bryce was reported as saying that the real ruler of the United States is not Congress or the President, but public opinion. That knocked the whole project on the head, and Mr. Bryce's name went down on the list of men who were not to be invited to see in any event. It is believed that with the decision to drop further thought of him, ended all thought of calling in a commissioner from outside of the United States.

PLAYING TO THE MOB.

Mr. Michael Davitt, member of the Imperial Parliament, was seen by a reporter to-day. He has just arrived from Washington. He is on his way home to Ireland after a nine months' tour in the Australian colonies. In reply to a question about the English attack on the Transvaal Republic, the Irish member said:—"The credit for the countermanding of the invasion of the Transvaal is not due to Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Salisbury, in my humble opinion, but to President Cleveland and Secretary Olney. The manly and menacing attitude which Uncle Sam took upon the Venezuela question has compelled England to condemn a freebooting expedition which would otherwise have had the political blessing of that pre-eminent land-grabbing nation. Make no mistake about it, this is the correct interpretation of the orders for retreat which the London Foreign Office has had to send to Dr. Jameson. England would have had very little to dread from the action of Germany, Austria, and Italy. This has given him the balance of power in Europe, and the prestige of such a position enabled him to roam round the world in search of little nations to bully, and desirable countries to grab. France, Germany, and Italy are country-stealing Governments, too, and a kind of 'honour-among-thieves' understanding existed between England and the chief European powers, which left each free to steal where the others were not concerned. Had there been no fear of the United States in the English Foreign Office over the Venezuelan affair, just at this moment, no action would have been taken to arrest the freebooting Jameson raid."

BRITISH AUTHORS' APPEAL.

London, Jan. 2.—The secretary of the Society of Authors writes to the Associated Press, saying that the memorial of the British authors to their brethren in the United States, appealing to the latter to join the former in

100

an effort to make war between the United States and Great Britain impossible, is being signed by hundreds of authors, and that further signatures are arriving by every mail. Among those who have already signed the appeal are Sir Walter Besant, Ruskin, Hall Caine, Sir Edwin Arnold, Prof. Lecky, Thomas Hardy, R. D. Blackmore, Rider Haggard, William Black, George Meredith, and Alfred Austin.

CANADA'S ATTITUDE.

London, Jan. 2.—Though the excitement has been at fever height respecting the Transvaal matter, interest was also aroused by the statement in the Canadian speech from the throne that the militia defences of

Canada are to be strengthened. It is understood that the Government here fully realizes Canada's grave peril from invasion if war were declared by the United States, and it is quite prepared to operate in putting the Canadian militia and defences on a first-class peace footing if Canada seeks British aid. Nevertheless, the earnest hope is expressed that the Canadian Parliament will refrain from adding fuel to the flame, not yet excited by any heated language or extravagant plans. The highest authorities here applaud Canada's calm attitude under the great provocation of abuse, and note the solidity of the Canadians from the Atlantic to the Pacific on the side of Great Britain. They, however, admit that hasty legislative action at this moment may imperil a peaceful agreement.

The St. James' Gazette to-night notes how great a percentage of the members of the Canadian Parliament had United Empire Loyalists for grandfathers, and says that this is an important element in the present situation.

COMMISSIONER COUDERT.

The New York correspondent of the Times reviews the records of the Venezuelan Commission, giving special attention to Mr. Frederick R. Coudert, and quoting at length from interviews with Mr. Coudert approving President Cleveland's course, published at the time of the delivery of the Venezuelan message. In these interviews some harsh phrases regarding Great Britain are quoted.

The Globe.

6. Jan. 1896.

THE FIRST MEETING.

Venezuelan Commission Organized
at Washington.

MR. BREWER PRESIDENT.

President Crespo Preparing a
Message.

The Chronicle's Report of Correspondence of 1840—Sir Charles Dilke's Opinion—Canada's Strength.

Washington, Jan. 5.—The Venezuelan commission met at 11 o'clock yesterday in the diplomatic room of the Department of State. Messrs. Coudert, Brewer, Alvey and Gilman are in attendance. Mr. White is absent, and is not expected to join the commission until next week. The four commissioners remained with Secretary Olney for half an hour, discussing routine matters pertaining to their organization. Mr. Olney will not participate in any way in the work of the commission, and when the commissioners emerged from his office into the diplomatic reception room he remained behind. Each member of the tribunal, with the exception of Prof. White, received his formal certificate of appointment from the President to-day. The form of the credential is as follows:—

To the Hon. David J. Brewer. You are hereby appointed a member of the commission to investigate and report up on the true location of the divisional line between the territory of the Republic of Venezuela and that of British

Guiana. It is expected that the commission will avail itself of all possible sources of information, will apply to the matter all pertinent rules of municipal and international law, and will make a report to the President of their conclusions, together with the evidence and documents submitted to and considered by them, with as little delay as is compatible with the thorough and impartial consideration of the subject to be dealt with. In testimony whereof I have caused these letters to be patent and the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed. Given under my hand at the City of Washington on the fourth day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-six, and of the independence of the United States of America the hundred and twentieth. (Signed) Grover Cleveland. By the President: Richard Olney, Secretary of State.

A motion to designate a clerk to act for the present temporary session of the commission was adopted, and J. Walter Blanford, private secretary of the Secretary of State, was accordingly designated.

On motion of Mr. Coudert, the matter of the selection of quarters for the commission was left to President Brewer and Commissioner Alvey.

Commissioner Gilman moved that an inquiry be made as to the best map showing the physical characteristics of the country in question, and which could be reproduced in convenient form for the use of the commission. This was seconded by Commissioner Alvey and adopted, and the commission authorized Commissioner Gilman to make such an inquiry. This concluded all business for present consideration, and on motion of Commissioner Coudert the commission adjourned, to meet on Saturday next, January 11, at 10.30 a. m., unless the President of the commission shall select another date. Upon assembling in the diplomatic room the commissioners immediately proceeded to the selection of a presiding officer, who will hereafter be designated as President. As was expected, Justice Brewer was chosen unanimously.

President Brewer proceeded to administer the oath of office to the other commissioners, and then Commissioner Alvey acted in a like capacity for the President.

At 12.30, when the adjournment took place, and the commission had been in session for just one hour, the four commissioners went back to Secretary Olney's office, and after telling him of what they had done walked over to the White House to pay their respects to

President Cleveland. They spent about fifteen minutes with Mr. Cleveland, and then went to luncheon.

CRESPO'S MESSAGE.

New York, Jan. 5.—The Herald's special cable from Caracas, Venezuela, says:—President Crespo is preparing a message to the people of Venezuela, in which he will dilate upon the boundary dispute at length. He will fully express his views upon an English aggression beyond the limits of British Guiana, and will appeal to the citizens of the republic to unite in patriotic resistance to invasion and injustice. The message will also contain references to the situation within the borders of the republic and to the attempts that have been made to incite rebellion and cause the destruction of the present Government. President Crespo will say that he is determined to frustrate conspiracy and revolt even if he should be forced to use violent measures against members of his own family.

CORRESPONDENCE OF 1810.

London, Jan. 2.—A special representative of The Daily Chronicle who is now in Washington writes to that paper that he has obtained from a source which he is pledged not to reveal the official unpublished correspondence exchanged by Great Britain and Venezuela between Nov., 1840, when Sir Robert Schomburgk was appointed to delimit the frontier of British Guiana, and April, 1842, when England removed the boundary posts set up by Sir Robert Schomburgk. In October, 1841, Senor Fortique, Venezuelan Minister to Great Britain, wrote to Lord Aberdeen, Colonial Secretary of State, in the Cabinet of Sir Robert Peel, referring to Venezuela's proposal to conclude a treaty on the boundaries and protesting that before the proposal was answered a sentry-box carrying a British flag had been built on the republic's territory. Senor Fortique again urged that a boundary treaty be entered upon. Lord Aberdeen replied that he had received Sir Robert Schomburgk's report that he had planted boundary posts at certain points in the country he had surveyed, being fully aware that the demarcation so made was merely a preliminary measure open to future discussion between Great Britain and Venezuela. It did not appear, however, that Sir Robert Schomburgk had left any building. Senor Fortique replied that Sir Robert Schomburgk had planted at the mouth of the Orinoco River several posts. He had also raised the British flag, with a show of force, and performed other acts of domination in Venezuela. Extreme courtesy alone represented Venezuela in forcibly expelling him from the country. After some delay Lord Aberdeen replied to Senor Fortique confirming his previous statement, and adding that much unnecessary incon-

venience would result from the removal of the posts, as they would afford the only tangible means by which her Majesty's Government could be prepared to discuss the question of boundaries with Venezuela.

Commenting on the subject, The Chronicle says:—"We are bound to say, assuming, as we are bound to assume, the accuracy of our representative's citations, that they vitiate Lord Salisbury's second despatch to Secretary Olney, and render it necessary for us to revise our whole view of the situation. Clearly there can now be no question regarding the Schomburgk line as a ramrod thrust between Guiana and Venezuela. In a word, England and the United States have a way out. We look to the statesmen on both sides to enlarge it until there is found complete escape from a situation of the utmost peril."

SIR CHARLES DILKE.

London, Jan. 3.—Sir Charles Dilke, M.P., was seen by a United Press representative to-day, and asked to state his views in regard to the new developments in the Venezuelan dispute growing out of the discoveries of old correspondence by the special representative of The Daily Chronicle, now in Washington. Sir Charles said he did not think that The Chronicle's disclosures would in any degree alter the situation. It was obvious that the Venezuelan Government would have published before this day any documents likely to help their case. In regard to the boundary posts along the Schomburgk line, mentioned in The Chronicle despatches, he said the whole thing depended upon what was the exact position of these posts. There appeared to be a good deal of ambiguity in the correspondence. A point near the mouth of the Orinoco River seemed to have been in the mind of the Venezuelan Government at the time the correspondence passed, but he thought that Lord Aberdeen could not have been referring to the same point in his reply to Senor Fortique, the Venezuelan Minister to Great Britain at that time. He considered that the proposals of Great Britain had never been varied. England had always contended that the site of the old Dutch fort was territory belonging to Great Britain as the heir of the Dutch. Lord Aberdeen probably had in mind a line further in the interior, and away from the sea, concerning which there had always been a willingness to negotiate. As he understood it, Sir Charles Dilke said, Lord Salisbury's position was that in 1885 England was prepared to arbitrate the questions concerning the back country a great deal more freely than she is now, when a portion of the disputed territory is occupied by British subjects, who have settled there on the strength of its being under British rule. Before answering the statement made in The Chronicle that the Schomburgk line was worthless, he said that he would require to be informed what the Schomburgk line was.

THE POPE'S OFFER.

Rome, Jan. 3.—It is reported in clerical circles here that the Pope offered to mediate in the Venezuela boundary dispute, but that England refused to accept the offer. Orders have been issued to the Keeper of the Archives of the Propaganda Fide to make further researches for documents connected with the Venezuela missions. Important documents have been found in the archives of the Vatican relating to the Catholic missions in Venezuela. These documents show that the missions within the territory claimed by Great Britain were included in the diocese of Caracas prior to the acquisition of Guiana by the British.

AN EX-CONSUL'S OPINION.

Cleveland, Jan. 2.—The Hon. William Monaghan, ex-Consul of the United States at Hamilton, believes that the "patriotism" of the American people has blinded their eyes to the real strength of Canada. In an interview Mr. Monaghan said that it is his belief that if war was declared between the United States and England the occupation of Canada and the destruction of the Welland Canal, which have been advocated through the press, would not be in the nature of a holiday excursion. On the contrary, he thought, it would be a hard-fought campaign with skilled soldiers. The effect of such a war would destroy the annexation sentiment in the Dominion. "They would be fighting for their homes and thresholds," said he, "and such a people become desperate. I found the rank and file of the people of Canada, or, at least, those with whom I came in contact, intelligent and hospitable with not only favorable but flattering opinions of the resources and greatness of this republic and its people. The feeling of the civil officers of the Dominion expressed or manifested toward the people of the United States was cordial, but at the same time they were firm in their dealings with customs' matters and questions. As to annexation, I would say there was more or less sentiment exhibited, but it was largely confined to the plain people. However, it was not so general as one would be led to believe from the newspaper articles in this country. The professional men and officials are steadfast in their devotion and attachment to their own country and its laws."

"Do you think Canada would resist an effort on the part of the United States to annex the Dominion to the republic, and do you think that efforts in that direction would be successful?"

"They would resist, and resist with all their powers and resources, and I would like to correct an error regarding the size and skill of the battalions in the Dominion. We should remember the fact that in the State of Ohio, when we had less than three millions of people, we raised over three hundred thousand troops."

"There has been some talk about destroying the Welland Canal, and thus making it impossible for England to get any war vessels through to the lake cities," suggested the reporter.

"That is easier said than done. We would first have to get on Canadian soil to destroy the canal. The avenues to the canal would be Niagara, the St. Clair River and the St. Lawrence River. Do you suppose for an instant that the Canadians would not destroy the bridges and cut off all avenue of invasion? It would be to their interest to do so."

"What would be the most vulnerable point of attack on the Welland Canal?" was asked.

"Near St. Catharines. There the Grand Trunk Railroad runs through a tunnel under the canal, and if a party of men could reach the tunnel and blow it up then the canal would be destroyed, but as I said before we would find it extremely dangerous to attempt to get into Canada in the event of a war."

"Then you do not think we would have possession of Canada in twenty-four hours, as some of the enthusiastic Americans say?"

"That is more than Canada, without any aid from England, would make it interesting for us for a long time. We would be at a disadvantage. We would be fighting on foreign soil, and would meet with resistance that would compel us to recognize the valor of the Canadian soldiers. We would eventually get into Canada, as we have a border of some 3,000 miles, but I want to emphasize the fact that we would have our hands full for a time in securing possession of the Dominion, and yet I give the Americans credit for being the most patriotic people on the field of battle questions."



107

The Free Press,

LONDON, ONT.

Friday, January 3, 1896.

J. K. CLARE, - - - General Manager.
W. SWAISLAND, - Secretary Treasurer.

THE UNITY OF OUR PEOPLE.

A Canadian Minister is credited with the remark that Canada's best defence in case of a war scare like that of President Cleveland was the solid sense of the American people. There may be a great deal of truth in that. The solid sense of the commercial and financial classes will be against any outbreak of fratricidal folly, such as that suggested by the party tactics of Mr. Cleveland. But Canada will find a defence also by no means despicable in the solid sense and patriotic feeling of her own people. The talk of "independence" here and there on the frontier is one thing, and mostly with the design of "catching the American vote" with regard to some smart commercial venture or land speculation in river fronts. Whenever a collection of villa lots facing the blue tide and the rich argosies that pass to and fro are to be put on the market, certain twaddle is heard in semi-amused undertones, about Canadian discontent and the spirit of "annexation." Why are intelligent Americans so often gulled into believing that the murmurs thus started in a frontier parish is the great sound that passes round the world? The solid sense of the Canadian people is for peace and good neighborhood between the two lands. Canada is a better customer of the United States than the United States is of Canada. We buy from them several millions worth annually more than they buy from us. That is business, and it is accompanied with good feeling. It might suit Canada's interests equally well to reverse this order of things, and to buy our imports in the same market that takes

the greatest share of our exports, namely, Great Britain, the country to which we are so closely allied by ties of kindred and fraternal sympathy, and to which it is our pride to belong by reason of her world-wide Empire, and capacity for just administration. But we are agreeable to deal with the United States because of our near proximity and the mutual convenience and good feeling existing, and not because of our dependence upon them in any way beyond what convenience and good neighborhood bespeaks. Americans have been greatly misled by Canadian politicians, who, in perfect recklessness of speech, have pandered to them unduly. It may suit a cynical free lance like Labouchere, whom few in England take seriously, but whose comments have a momentary interest for their pertness and piquancy, to say that the British Government is all wrong in the Venezuela matter, and that Mr. Cleveland is all right. The eccentric editor of Truth is well enough satisfied if his journal is thrown aside with a curse so long as it is first picked up at the news stand. But let any Canadian leader of opinion express himself in such terms, and he would be snuffed out of public life in short order. In his days of political adolescence, Mr. Laurier ventured approval of Mr. Cleveland's proclamation against Canada. He said in a speech at St. Thomas that it served Canada right to be throttled at her borders by the "tin-can" policy and the refusal of bonding privileges. He said it served us right because we had not yielded up our fisheries and made other concessions demanded of us under implied menace. Mr. Laurier would not repeat those remarks now in any Canadian assembly. He has learned more wisdom than that in his travels about the country. Sir Richard Cartwright also told a Boston commercial gathering that if they wished, Canada would become "like a tier of new States on their northern borders." So lavish was he



105
of his compliments that an American speaker who came after him said he spoke "like a U. S. Senator from Ontario." Sir Richard would not repeat that remark in any political gathering of his countrymen. He knows by this time that their "solid sense" prompts the other way. Canadians believe in their own country, are satisfied with its institutions and hopeful of its future upon British lines. A correspondent of the New York Sun, writing from Detroit a few days ago, corrects another writer, who said that "within twenty-four hours after a declaration of war with Great Britain the Republic of Canada would be proclaimed." He says the writer of that statement is "either mentally blind or a deceiver," and continues:—

"I have just spent some months in Canada, and have come in touch with the people throughout the entire Province of Ontario, and a portion of Quebec. There is no question that the spirit of Canada is hostile to our country. It may not be generally known here that after every theatrical performance given in Canada the orchestra plays the National hymn, 'God Save the Queen,' and that no concert or entertainment is finished until the National hymn has been sung or played. Let a speaker but mention the 'Union Jack' or the 'Mother Country,' and instantly every face lights up with a smile of satisfaction and pride, and a patriotic exuberance will excite the wildest applause."

The observations of this writer are true with but one exception, viz., where he says that "the spirit of Canada," as thus displayed, "is hostile to our country"—the United States. In this he himself is either mentally blind or a deceiver. There is no "hostility" meant toward the American Republic by these customs among our people. On the contrary, there is a pervading respect for all that is worthy in the American people and their institutions. It is only when the tone of their public men becomes truculent and offensively domineering, that our people become of one mind, in the sense that we are a separate people, with distinct boundaries, within which ideas of self respect are above every other consideration. It is then that political divisions cease and the men, women and children are found speaking in one tone of voice.

4th Jan. 96.

UNCLE SAM'S MILITIA.

ITS CONDITION TO MEET A SUDDEN CALL IN CASE OF WAR.

Many Defects in the Organization — The Force in Different States Armed With Different Weapons, and Its Equipment Not Always Satisfactory.

Some of the War Department officers have been making some interesting inquiries into the condition of the United States militia, says the New York Times. These were suggested by the recent discussion, anent the Venezuelan incident, of possible war and the means at the disposal of the Government to meet attack. As related in these dispatches last week, the total force organized as State troops is 114,146. There is liable for military duty a volunteer force of 10,000,000, or, in the exact numericals of the department records, 9,945,043. This is an immense army, but mere numbers do not constitute military power, and there are other features, mainly mobilization and equipment, which must be considered in estimating the strategic worth of this augmented National Guard of 10,000,000.

This estimate has been made by the War Department from numerous records, public and confidential, which have come from various sources during the past year or two. In some respects the conclusions thus attained are satisfactory; in other respects they are not as reassuring as the authorities could wish. As an offset to the apparent weaknesses of the system, however, is placed an enviable facility of production and a readier means of organization and mobilization, which may be counted upon in time of trouble.

Important in reaching an estimate of the value of the citizen soldiery is the means by which this force may be concentrated. Each State must amalgamate its own troops at some convenient point, where it will be merged into another congregation of troops, the coalition to proceed until the force reaches the desired strength. The promptness with which State troops may be thus gathered constitutes a prime factor in forming an army. The method is known among military men as mobilization. The War Department has reports from each State naming the most important points of concentration for service

within, and for service outside, each State. The time required for this concentration is in most cases merely an estimate, but in several cases, notably in Illinois, Indiana, New York, and Pennsylvania, it is based on actual experience, when the whole or a part of the National Guard has been called upon. The time required for concentrating the entire command ranges from three days, in California and Oregon, to twelve hours in Connecticut, and three hours in the District of Columbia, if the service is in Washington. The percentage of the entire force that could be counted upon to turn out for sixty days' active service varies from ninety-five in New York, North Dakota, and Pennsylvania, ninety-one in Illinois and Massachusetts, to fifty in Minnesota and South Dakota. Alabama, Illinois, North Carolina, South Dakota, and the District of Columbia are said to have well-developed plans, for the concentration of their troops; a number of States have partial plans, but the majority have none.

One of the weaknesses of the militia even in its present organization, to say nothing of the augmented force, rests in the armament. There is a variety of arms and calibres, which makes identical equipment with ammunition out of the question. This is a fault which will probably not seriously interfere with the efficiency of the 100,000 men which comprise the regular militia force of the country, but it might, in time of emergency, hamper the equipment of the additional volunteer force. New York, for instance, has her infantry armed with the Remington rifle, calibre .50; Connecticut has three of her regiments armed with Peabody rifles, calibre .45; in Florida, Virginia, and Wyoming, some Springfield rifles, calibre .50, are in use, and the same weapon is used by the Georgia Volunteers, coloured. With these exceptions, the infantry of all the States are armed with the Springfield rifle, calibre .45, of all models from that of 1873 to the latest.

The condition of the arms ranges from excellent in Illinois and the District of Columbia to very bad; as a rule the condition is fair to good, but many arms are unserviceable from neglect. The arms are frequently not well cared for, and not enough attention is given to keeping them clean and in repair. In Alabama, Arkansas, California, New Jersey, Ohio, Wisconsin, the District of Columbia, and Utah, the cavalry is armed with the sabre, carbine, and revolver, and the armament ranges from that, to Colorado, North Dakota, and New Mexico, which have only the carbine, and New Hampshire, which has only the sabre. The arms

of the cavalry are of the same kind as those used in the United States army, except that in Georgia one troop has the Marlin carbine; in New York the Remington carbine, calibre .50, is used; in Oregon, the Spencer carbine; in Pennsylvania one troop has the Winchester carbine, calibre .44; and in New Mexico one troop has the Sharp carbine, calibre .50. The condition of the cavalry arms is reported as ranging from excellent in Illinois, New Jersey, Ohio, Rhode Island, and the District of Columbia to very bad. The armament of most of the artillery consists of Gatling guns and obsolete field guns. In New York, Pennsylvania, Vermont and Utah the artillery is wholly or partially supplied with the 3.2-inch breech-loading steel-rifled guns, all of which are in good condition. The Gatling guns are generally in good condition, but most of the field guns are old and obsolete, and their cartridges are mostly rotten and unfit for any hard work. The men generally have the sabre; some of them have the revolver, and in a small number of batteries they are armed with rifles and carbines.

The equipment varies very much in the different States both as to completeness and condition. Some States, among them New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, have their troops of all arms of the service completely equipped, and their equipments are kept in good condition, the equipments used being generally those of the United States army. Most of the States have knapsacks of old patterns, and great difficulty has been encountered in selecting a suitable infantry pack. New York and New Jersey have adopted the Merriam pack, and Pennsylvania has a knapsack. In most of the States the men are supplied with bayonet scabbards, waist belts, and McKeever cartridge boxes; beyond that they vary, including knapsacks, canteens, meat-ration cans, knives, forks, spoons, tin cups, cartridge belts, and clothing bags, besides the other articles issued to the cavalry and artillery. The cavalry equipments are generally in good condition, but are not very complete, except in Illinois, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Utah. The artillery equipment, excepting that of the men, is practically worthless, except in those States that have drawn the new guns and equipments. The harness is generally old and rotten, and would not stand any hard work. The artillery equipments, although old and worn out, are generally well cared for. In most States the equipment of all branches of the service is not complete enough for present needs, and would be insufficient in case of field

service. The condition of the equipments is generally from fair to good, although there are cases in which they have been much neglected.

The clothing of the State troops is reported as, in general, in good condition. The undress uniform in all the States is that of the regular army.

There is a variety of customs prevailing among the militia in regard to ammunition. In Vermont each company is required to keep constantly on hand for use in case of emergency 3,000 rounds of ammunition; Alabama and Florida about 2,000 rounds per company; thirteen States, among them Pennsylvania, Maine, and Ohio, keep 1,000 per company; Oregon keeps 600 rounds per company; New York and Tennessee 30 per man; Maryland 5 rounds per man; Arkansas keeps 15,000 rounds on hand; Connecticut, 54,000; Illinois, 200,000; Iowa, 30,000; Massachusetts, 5,000; Missouri, 3,000; Rhode Island, 6,000; South Dakota, 40,000, and none is kept in the possession of the troops in Montana, Nebraska, Wyoming, District of Columbia, New Mexico, and Utah. All except California, North Dakota, Oregon, and Arizona, which keep none in reserve, have on hand ready to be delivered promptly to troops on arrival at points of concentration amounts of cavalry and infantry ammunition ranging from 500,000 rounds in New York to 10,600 each in Florida, Missouri, Washington, and the District of Columbia. Most of the States keep no artillery ammunition on hand.

Tentage sufficient for the present force is owned by nineteen States, including Pennsylvania. Some tentage is owned by other States, including New York and Massachusetts. Most of the States use the hospital and wall tents almost exclusively. Very few States have field mess outfits. In State camps most of the commands that are not fed by caterers have crockery ware and ranges, and do not use cooking utensils, camp kettles, mess pans, Dutch ovens, etc., that they would have to use in active service. Indiana, Montana, New York, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, and West Virginia are provided with field mess equipage; a number of States are partially supplied with mess outfits, more or less adapted to field use, while Alabama, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nevada, Rhode Island, Arizona, and Utah have none.

It will be seen that before even the present militia force could be ready for active duty it would have to be equipped with tentage and camp outfits, and that a great deal of material must be furnished the cavalry and artillery branches to make them of any use. The War Department people

say that suitable equipment could be obtained if Congress were liberal enough, as it must be in time of emergency. This would take time, and some of the officials believe provision for the complete and efficient equipment of the National Guard should not be deferred until war arrives. It is feared that the variety of calibres among infantry arms would lead to some confusion and delay, as it certainly would contribute to the cost of furnishing the volunteer force with "powder and shot." Most of the army officials are confident, however, that there will be prompt, reliable, and sufficient means of fitting out the present force of militiamen, and some of them think even the problematical army of ten millions may be speedily placed on an efficient footing.

IN CAPTURING CANADA.

UNCLE SAM WOULD HAVE NO HOLIDAY EXCURSION.

Mr. Monaghan, ex-U. S. Consul at Hamilton Opens the Eyes of His Fellow-Countrymen as to the Dominion's Real Strength.

Cleveland, O., Jan. 2.—Hon. Wm. Monaghan, ex-Consul of the United States at Hamilton, Ont., believes that the patriotism of the American people has blinded their eyes to the real strength of Canada. In an interview Mr. Monaghan said that it is his belief that if war were declared between the United States and England the occupation of Canada and the destruction of the Welland Canal, which have been advocated through the press, would not be in the nature of a holiday excursion. On the contrary, he thought it would be a hard-fought campaign, with skilled soldiers. The effect of such a war, he thought, would destroy the annexation sentiment of the Dominion. "The would be fighting for their homes and firesides," said he, "and such a people become desperate. I found the rank and file of the people of Canada, or, at least, those with whom I came in contact, intelligent and hospitable, with not only favorable but flattering opinions of the resources and greatness of this republic and this people. The feeling of the civil officers of the Dominion, expressed or manifested towards the people of the United States was cordial, but at the same time they were firm in their dealings with customs matters and questions. As to annexation I would say there was more or less sentiment exhibited, but it was largely confined to the plain people. How-

ever, it was not so general as one would be led to believe from the newspaper articles in this country. The professional men and officials are steadfast in their devotion and attachment to their own country and its laws." "Do you think Canada would resist an effort on the part of the United States to annex the Dominion to the republic, and do you think that efforts in that direction would be successful?" asked the reporter.

"They would resist, and resist with all their powers and resources, and I would like to correct an error regarding the size and skill of the battalions in the Dominion. We should remember the fact that in the state of Ohio, when we had less than 3,000,000 people we raised over 300,000 troops."

"There has been some talk about destroying the Welland Canal and thus making it impossible for England to get any war vessels through to the lake cities," suggested the reporter.

"That is easier said than done. We would first have to get on Canadian soil to destroy the canal. The avenues to the canal would be Niagara, the St. Clair river and the St. Lawrence river. Do you suppose for an instant that the Canadians would not destroy the bridges and cut off all avenues of invasion? It would be to their interest to do so."

"What would be the most vulnerable point of attack on the Welland canal?" was asked.

"Near St. Catharines. There the Grand Trunk Railway runs through a tunnel under the canal, and if a party of men could reach the tunnel and blow it up then the canal would be destroyed, but as I said before, we would find it extremely dangerous to attempt to get into Canada in the event of war."

"Then you do not think we would have possession of Canada in twenty-four hours, as some of the enthusiastic Americans say?"

"That is mere bosh. Canada without any aid from England, would make it interesting for us for a long time. We would be at a disadvantage. We would be fighting on foreign soil, and would meet with resistance that would compel us to recognize the valor of the Canadian soldiers. We would eventually get into Canada, as we have a border of some 3,000 miles, but I want to emphasize the fact that we would have our hands full for a time in securing possession of the Dominion, and yet I give the Americans credit for being the most patriotic people on the field of battle in existence."

THE VENEZUELA BOUNDARY

CORRESPONDENCE OF OVER
FIFTY YEARS AGO.

Between the British and Venezuelan Governments
—The Little Republic's Case Ready.

London, Jan. 3.—A special representative of the Daily Chronicle (Liberal), who is now in Washington, cables to that paper that he has obtained from a source, which he is pledged not to reveal, the official unpublished correspondence exchanged by Great Britain and Venezuela between November, 1840, when Sir Robert Schomburgk was appointed to delimit the frontier of British Guiana, and April, 1842, when England removed the boundary posts set up by Sir Robert Schomburgk. In October, 1841, Senor Fortique, Venezuelan Minister to Great Britain, wrote to Lord Aberdeen, Colonial Secretary of State in the Cabinet of Sir Robert Peel, referring to Venezuela's proposal to conclude a treaty on the boundaries, and protesting that before the proposal was answered a sentry-box carrying a British flag had been built on the Republic's territory. Senor Fortique again urged that a boundary treaty be entered upon. Lord Aberdeen replied that he had received Sir Robert Schomburgk's report that he had planted boundary posts at certain points in the country, and that he was fully aware that the demarcation so made was merely a preliminary measure open to future discussion between Great Britain and Venezuela. It did not appear, however, that Sir Robert Schomburgk had left any building. Senor Fortique replied that Sir Robert Schomburgk had planted at the mouth of the Orinoco River several posts. He had also raised the British flag with a show of force and performed other acts of dominion in Venezuela. Extreme courtesy alone prevented Venezuela from expelling him from the country. After some delay Lord Aberdeen replied to Senor Fortique, confirming his previous statement, and adding that much unnecessary inconvenience would result from the removal of the posts, as they would afford the only tangible means by which Her Majesty's Gov-

ernment could be prepared to discuss the question of boundaries with Venezuela. The posts were erected for that express purpose, and not, as the Venezuelan Government appeared to apprehend, as indications of dominion and empire on the part of Great Britain. In the same despatch Lord Aberdeen expressed pleasure at learning that the Governor of Guiana had assured the Venezuelan emissaries that Great Britain had not occupied Point Barima. In January, 1842, Senor Fortique again wrote to re-insist upon the removal of the posts. The Chronicle then quotes from the second note of Lord Salisbury to Secretary of State Olney, the words "at the urgent entreaty of the Venezuelan Government these two posts were afterward removed, as stated by Mr. Olney, but this concession was made on the distinct understanding that Great Britain did not thereby in any way abandon her claim to that position. The Chronicle also quotes from the two documents in which this concession was made. This first document consists of a despatch sent in March, 1842, by Henry Light, Governor of Guiana, to Daniel O'Leary, British Consul at Caracas, stating that the Colonial Secretary had ordered the Government to remove the landmarks. The other document is a despatch from Mr. O'Leary to the Venezuelan Government containing the substance of Governor Light's despatch. The Chronicle remarks that nothing indicates the condition asserted by Lord Salisbury, and adds:—"If the above documents are genuine, and their source excludes suspicion, the Schomburgk line is proved worthless as a basis of any territorial claim whatever." Commenting editorially on the subject the Chronicle says:—"We are bound to say, assuming, as we are bound to assume, the accuracy of our representative's citations, that they vitiate Lord Salisbury's second despatch to Secretary Olney, and render it necessary for us to revise our whole view of the situation. Clearly, there can now be no question regarding the Schomburgk line as a ramrod thrust between Guiana and Venezuela, but we look to statesmen on both sides to enlarge this possible loophole until there is found a complete escape from a situation of the utmost peril."

President Crespo has notified Minister Andrade to inform him as soon as possible of the resolution of the com-

mission on this point, that there may be no delay in submitting the Venezuelan case. The documents are exceedingly voluminous, and include a large number of valuable maps, which must be sent to Washington if the commission concludes to sit here. All these documents are now in Caracas, but ready for immediate transmission. They could be presented to the State Department within ten days of the notification that they were required here. Until that time the work of the commission must be necessarily altogether of a preliminary character. If the organization of the body is perfected, as is now expected, within a week, some time must elapse before the American Ministers at the Hague and Madrid could secure and transmit copies of Dutch and Spanish archives, which are considered to be essential to an impartial adjudication of the opposing claims. Venezuela is, however, prepared to furnish certified copies of all these documents that tend to prove her right to the disputed territory, and perhaps Great Britain will consent to supply all others. The probable attitude of the English Government towards the commission evokes the keenest curiosity. While it is the prevailing opinion that it will embrace the opportunity to state its side of the case without agreeing to be bound by the findings, it is not believed that this can be done without considerable delay. It is understood that although the English have accumulated all possible evidence to support their claim to the entire Orinoco region, they had never expected to be compelled to produce it, and have not arranged it in such shape that it could be promptly submitted. It would not be surprising, therefore, in case Great Britain should take cognizance of the appointment of the American commission, if a request should be received from Lord Salisbury asking for a sufficient delay to enable his Government to prepare its documentary proofs. In any event the actual discussion of the merits of the controversy can hardly commence inside of the next two weeks, and there is no probability of a decision for several months if the investigation is to be made as thorough as contemplated.

CRITICISING THE COMMISSION.

Regret is expressed by Congressmen that the President had not selected men of international reputation, such as ex-Ministers Phelps and Lincoln. It was felt that such names would carry greater weight in Great Britain and on the continent than those of other men who might be more renowned as jurists, but whose reputations are local. The fact developed to-day that strong influence was brought to bear on Secretary Olney to create a commission of five persons, two of whom should be distinguished foreigners and the remainder Americans of equal prominence. One of the names suggested was that of Prof. James F. Brice, whose history of the American Commonwealth is a standard work among the English-speaking people on both sides of the Atlantic. It was represented to Secretary Olney that if Mr. Brice and some well-known German, for example, could be induced to accept places on the commission, its conclusions would be accepted with much more favor by Europeans than those where the members were distinctively American. Some of the Republicans were disposed to criticise the President's selection of two college professors, since, it was contended, gentlemen holding such offices are never conspicuous either as lawyers or as geographers. It is felt, too, that Messrs. White and Gilman are not favorable to the Monroe doctrine, although it is believed that their attitude upon this question will not influence their work in determining the divisional line between British Guiana and Venezuela. It must be confessed, however, that the commission does not give the satisfaction that was expected. Members generally believe that it will perform its duties as well as any other commission that might be formed, but the lack of any great name associated with it will, it is felt, weaken the effect of its work across the Atlantic. Such of the Democratic representatives as were spoken with professed ignorance of the capabilities of the majority of the commission, but the opinion was general among them that the President had made no mistake.

London, Jan. 3.—The Times, in an editorial, comments rather severely upon the presence of Frederick R. Oudert on the Venezuelan commission, and notes the fact that with one exception (Andrew D. White) the commissioners are unknown here.

New York, Jan. 3.—A special despatch from Washington quotes a letter addressed by Lord Granville, the then British Foreign Minister, to the representative of the Venezuelan Government, acquiescing in the suggestion already made by that representative for including in a pending treaty a clause providing for the arbitration of any and all differences between the two Governments. This letter proves the statement made by the London Chronicle to-day, which has already been cabled, to the effect that Earl Granville had virtually concluded a treaty with Venezuela in 1885, containing an arbitration clause that covered the Venezuelan boundary dispute. It is now claimed that there is a wide discrepancy between Lord Salisbury's interpretation of Earl Granville's agreement as covering the arbitration of the boundary dispute, and his recent notes to Secretary Olney upon the same subject.

St. Petersburg, Jan. 3.—A semi-official denial was made to-day of the announcement made in the Neue Freie Presse, of Vienna, on December 30, in a despatch from this city, saying that Russia and France had actually promised diplomatic support to the United States in the Venezuelan question, and that Russia was prepared to facilitate the United States loan with her own gold reserve.

SCHOMBURG LINE.

A BOOK CONTAINING THE MEMOIRS OF THE EXPLORER.

Extracts From a Valuable and Interesting
Volume—A Description of the District in
Dispute—The Explorations of Sixty Years
Ago.

A dispatch from Lancaster, Pa., published in the Star-Sayings yesterday, told of the forwarding to Secretary of State Olney of a book containing the memoirs of Explorer Robert Herman Schomburg, whose boundary line between Venezuela and British Guiana Great Britain has taken as a basis for all her claims. As the book is destined to play an important part in the great controversy, the Star-Sayings searched through the public libraries of the city, finally discovered the book, and now for the first time by any paper in the United States publishes a synopsis of his report.

The entire book is devoted to the report made by Schomburg, but principally to his description of the natural history of British Guiana. The memoirs take up the first seventy-five pages, and are not by any means as clear in their description of the boundaries established by him between Venezuela and British Guiana as one might wish. In fact, in one portion of them he admits as much, and says it will be a good thing for the people living in that country when a government survey shall be established.

From these memoirs, which appear in the ninth volume of Jardine's Naturalists' Library, the Star-Sayings has compiled these facts, and taken the following quotations. The memoirs were evidently written by Mr. Schomburg himself, although they are not written in the first person. In starting out the memoirs say:—

Toward the close of the year 1834 the Council of the Royal Geographical Society of London, desiring to promote the noble science for which they were united, to stimulate discovery and to assist in the exploring of regions known scarcely beyond the darkness of savage life, resolved on sending out an expedition to the interior of British Guiana for the twofold purpose of investigating thoroughly the physical and astronomical geography of that almost endless tract of country and connecting the lines of positions which might be ascertained with those of the Baron Humboldt, on the Upper Orinoco."

Schomburg, with his party, accordingly started out on the 21st of Sept., 1835, from Georgetown, and, coasting around the peninsula, reached the entrance of the Essequibo River, which

112

discharges itself into the sea by an outlet nearly twenty miles wide, and which river he has made his base of operations. This river Schomburgk evidently believed and shows to be largely in British Guiana, with its tributaries extending to Venezuela, and he explored it thoroughly. His memoirs then continue :

" Having explored the River Essequibo to 31.4 degrees north, and the River Rupununi to 21.2 degrees north latitude, Mr Schomburgk now considered it desirable to make choice of some other of the great rivers of Guiana, hoping that as he pursued the stream toward its source he might be able to penetrate into the interior toward the Sierra Acarari mountains, and at the same time investigate the capability of the adjacent country for colonization. For this purpose, therefore, the Cottenyn was selected. On the 17th of Dec., 1836, he quitted Demerara for Berbice. He ascended this river for three days and a half, when he was forced to return, and on the 25th of November, after a time of waiting, attempted the ascent of the Berbice. It was on this trip that he discovered the wonderful lily, the Victoria Regia. After many days of hard work the party were finally forced to stop, and, taking an astronomical observation, discovered that they had arrived at a parallel with the junction of the Essequibo and Rupununi.

" It was now resolved to cross over in a south-west direction to the Essequibo. * * * In three hours and a half the broad Essequibo was seen rolling before them. It was hailed as the sight of an old acquaintance, and the huts which the travellers had erected months ago were found standing. The result of this passage from the Berbice to the Essequibo is of importance to geographers. The short period which it required to cross from river to river establishes undeniably, as had been justly observed before, that the course of the River Berbice was more to the westward than is laid down on any of our maps, and it is probably the first time that the Berbice had been ascended from its mouth to 3 degrees 55 minutes north latitude. The next point of consequence is the non-existence of the River Demerara between the Berbice and Essequibo. On the map the source of the River Demerara is placed in the fourth parallel of latitude, and about thirty miles south of that of Berbice, but, in his opinion, it rises in the mountain chain between 4 degrees 30 minutes and 4 degrees 40 minutes north."

In the second part of the memoirs the writer says: " Upward of five months had passed away since he returned from the expedition to the River Berbice, during the greater part of which Mr. Schomburgk had been laid up with a severe attack of yellow fever. On the 12th of September, 1837, he quitted Georgetown, and sailing up the broad expanse of the Essequibo soon reached Ampa, thirty miles up on its eastern shore. Continuing on and

ascending the Rupununi in a western direction for about thirty miles, he established his camp on its southern shore at the mouth of Roiwa. Now became visible the elevated summit of the mountain Aquirapu, one of the greatest natural wonders of Guiana. Toward this mountain the travellers proceeded along the stream Guidaru. After some days spent in toiling against the stream and crossing extensive savannas, they reached the settlement of Wapisianas, where, although these Indians had never before seen a white man, they were received kindly. With the Wapisianas for a guide the party proceeded along a chain of hills leading to well-wooded plains. The party then proceeded to the Carawalmi mountains.

" Descending to the Cuyuwini they again entered the Essequibo and proceeded along this river to its junction with the Cauerauau, when they struck in a southerly direction to a settlement and visited afterward a settlement in latitude twelve minutes south. They had passed the equator at noon, and had so far accomplished one of the objects of the expedition. Immediately on returning to the boats they started on their further ascent into the Essequibo. After three days they could make no further progress in their corials (canoes), and set out on foot. After three days' painful marching they arrived at one of the western sources of the Essequibo, at a spot surrounded by high trees, interwoven with lianas so much that no sight could be gotten of sun or stars; but by the course and distance it was judged to be in forty-one minutes north latitude. The British ensign was hoisted and secured firmly to one of the trees, there to remain until time should destroy it. Her Majesty's health was drunk in the unadulterated waters of the Essequibo, and the party returned to the corials.

" The expedition then returned to Anni and thence to Pirara. From this place Mr. Schomburgk made several excursions upon the neighbouring savannas, and finally left Pirara, arriving on the 30th of June at Fort San Joaquim. Fort San Joaquim is situated on the eastern shore of Takatu, a short distance from its confluence with the Rio Branco. It was built to prevent the incursions of the Spaniards and Dutch. Mr. Schomburgk left Fort San Joaquim on the 20th of September, 1834, and, sailing up the Takatu and passing its confluence with the Zaruma and the Mahu, entered the latter river and walked to the Macusi village of that name. Here he remained three days. At length the column was put in marching order, the coxswain carrying the British union flag, under which they had been marching for the last three years. Now it was to lead them beyond the British boundary into the region only known to the copper-coloured Indian, but they were animated with the hope of reaching for the first time, from this side of the continent, that point which Baron Humboldt had in 1830 arrived at from the westward—Esmeralda on the Orinoco."

Just prior to starting out from Fort San Joaquim, Mr. Schomburgk made a trip to the mountains of Mocaiahi, and while there met a press-gang sent out by the Brazilian government to impress Indians for the navy. He used his utmost endeavours to have them released, and in this connection his memoirs say: "It was his opinion that the inferior officers wished to use the impressing of Indians for the Brazilian navy as an excuse to procure young and old, in order to sell to their allies those who were not fit for that purpose. When the boundaries of the rich and productive colony of Guiana shall have been decided by the government survey, it is to be hoped that peace and happiness will be insured to those who dwell on the British side of the frontier." After this side trip he returned and started for the Orinoco.

"Ten days' journey brought the expedition to a settlement of the Aro-cunas. Next day they crossed the Yawaira, flowing northward, and tributary to the Caroni, and entered, therefore the basin of the Orinoco, which is divided from that of the Amazon by a range of sandstone mountains. On the 3rd of December they reached a Zapara settlement of upward of sixty Indians. With one of these for a guide they embarked on the Parima river, which is the continuation of the Rio Branco, and ascended this until they encountered rapids which stopped their progress.

"The travellers now found it impossible to make their way further by water, and after many endeavours were finally compelled to return, after being within thirty miles of Esmeralda. Making, therefore, a long circuit to the northward, and then proceeding up the River Parani, he entered, after twenty days of weary travel over wild and unknown country, the River Orinoco in latitude 2 degrees 54 minutes north. This elsewhere mighty river was here obstructed with sandbanks, with so little current in many places as to make the water appear stagnant. The expedition halted at a sandbank opposite the River Wapo, where they were tormented by a swarm of sand flies at a heat of 130 degrees in the sun. Thence they started toward Esmeralda, and at length came in view of a fine savanna extending to the foot of the mountain, which, from Humboldt's description, was known to be that of Esmeralda. Some canoes tied to the river bank showed him the landing place. The emaciated appearance of his companions and Indian guides told more than volumes what difficulties had been surmounted, but his object was realized. His observations, commencing on the coast of Guiana, were now connected with those of Humboldt at Esmeralda."—St. Louis Star-Sayings.

VENEZUELA.

To the Editor of The Mail and Empire:

Sir,—It is a curious fact that nearly all the old maps of South America show the boundary line between Guiana and Venezuela as being a counterpart of Schomburgk's "extension" line. I have in my possession a copy of Herman Moll's "A System of Geography," published in 1701 (William III.), in which there is a fairly accurate map of Terra Firma—the northern portion of South America—and this dividing line is laid down almost identical with that of Sir Robert H. Schomburgk, surveyed in 1841-44. It runs in a south-westerly direction, the north limit beginning at a point near the mouth of the Parla or Oronoque river. It lies about equidistant from that (Orinoco) river and the Esquib (Essequibo) river, and separates North Andalusia (eastern Venezuela) from Caribana or Guiana. Another matter of importance is that the boundary at the coast-line is marked a little west of Pt. Barima, and beyond the extreme western limit of England's claim.

Yours, etc.,

H. SPENCER HOWELL.

Galt, Jan. 2nd, 1896.

BRITAIN IS RIGHT.

IMPARTIAL HISTORY OF THE VENEZUELA AFFAIR.

A Citizen of the United States Discusses the Question—History of the Boundary Issue—Venezuelans and Their Grasping Tendencies—Indignities Offered to Citizens of the United States.

Mr. Wm. Yates Perot writes to the Baltimore Sun the following interesting history of the Venezuelan question:—

Permit me, as a former resident of British Guiana, and one who is thoroughly familiar with that country and all the matters in dispute between Venezuela and that colony, to make a few observations on the present situation. President Cleveland has made a terrible blunder. I shall endeavour to show, first, that Venezuela has no case; second, that the Monroe doctrine is not involved at all in the dispute between the two countries. The boundary line between the two countries is largely one of historical and geographical facts. The Spaniards settled on the Orinoco about the year 1580, the Dutch at the Pomeroon in the same year. They were dislodged from their settlement by the Spaniards three

114

years later, and their next successful attempt at colonization was in 1611 on an island called Kyk-Over-All, near the mouth of the Essequibo river. This was the principal seat of government for 100 years, until the capital was removed to Stabroek, called Georgetown when taken over by the British. By the peace of Amiens, in 1803, Holland's possessions in what is known as the colonies of Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice were ceded to Great Britain, and have ever since been known as British Guiana.

HISTORICAL FACTS.

Venezuela achieved its independence in 1814, and succeeded to whatever rights Spain might have had in the country. As a matter of fact, the Spaniards and the Venezuelans have never at any time made claims to or attempted any jurisdiction over any of the territory lying east of the Schomburg line on the Amacura. The Dutch laid out sugar and coffee plantations upon the Essequibo from the mouth of the Cuyuni river around the coast to the Pomeroon, the majority of which plantations are in cultivation to-day. At no time has Venezuela ever had any foothold there, nor has there been a settlement, or even a clearing, east of the Schomburg line. On the other hand, the writer, who was one of the first white men to penetrate that country, fifteen years ago, before any gold was discovered, found a dreary, trackless waste, where the Indian was monarch of all he surveyed. At the same time remains of Dutch forts are to be seen well up the Suyuni river almost as far as the Uruman, where the difficulty of outposts occurred about a year ago. In the Parima remains of Dutch abandoned estates, with large canals, can be seen to-day. All this would go to show that the presumption of evidence as afforded by previous occupation would be in favour of the Dutch as against the Spanish claimant.

THE BRITISH LINES.

In 1840 Great Britain sent out Sir Robert Schomburg, a well-known geologist, who defined the British lines. It is a well-known principle in international law that the lines of demarcation between contiguous territories should be defined by natural boundary lines, such as great rivers, estuaries, or mountain ranges. It was affirmed by the late Czar of Russia, as arbitrator in a similar dispute between Dutch Guiana and French Guiana, that the larger river course, in the absence of the clearest evidence to the contrary, should be the natural boundary line. The only two rivers answering this description are the Essequibo and the Orinoco. As Spain had always held and colonized the basin of the Orinoco, and Holland in a similar manner had held the Essequibo and its tributaries, Schomburg fixed upon the next largest river course lying between the two, the Amacura, which forms the base of the Schomburg

line. A settlement of this matter has been allowed to remain in abeyance all these years because, in the first place, the territory involved was thought to be of little or no value until the discovery of gold, about ten years ago; secondly, all the inhabited portion of British Guiana had been confined to a strip of land along the seacoast devoted exclusively to sugar-planting, and extending around inland about fifteen miles. Since emancipation of slavery, in 1834, the negroes refuse to work regularly, and large numbers of coolies from East India, amounting to about seven thousand a year, have been regularly imported from India to work on the estates. This was done at a very heavy expense, and the planters, who controlled the policy of the Government (a man requiring to be a possessor of eighty acres of land, forty of which should be bona fide in cultivation, to be eligible to a seat in the Legislature), naturally were averse to any means being taken to develop or facilitate access to the vast country lying behind them, fearing that their labour supply would be drawn away from them.

DISCOVERIES OF GOLD.

Ten years ago American and English prospectors pushed their way up these various rivers and found gold in large and paying quantities. The Government was forced to take notice of the growing industry. Gold regulations were made and titles granted under favourable terms, and the Government was forced, in response to public opinion, to assert its claim to and exercise jurisdiction over the country up to the Schomburg line. Millions of dollars of English capital have been invested in sugar plantations and mines within this disputed territory. Venezuela is a mere pretence of a republic; only 3 per cent. of its million inhabitants are white men, the rest being peons, half-breeds, and Indians. It is at times a dictatorship, as under Guzman Blanco, who after a comparatively short reign was enabled to retire to Europe, where he now lives, with a colossal fortune estimated at \$20,000,000. The present President, Crespo, is also a very wealthy man. It is a well-known fact to those having business relations with Venezuela that it is impossible to do any business there without arranging satisfactorily with the powers that be for a considerable share of the venture.

LIFE AND PROPERTY INSECURE.

As an instance of the insecurity of life and property under the Venezuela rule I would mention a case of Mr. T. Morris Perot, of Philadelphia, a wealthy maltster, there, who was president of a gold mine in Venezuela, which was entirely subscribed to by Philadelphia capital. The mine was a paying one, and there was a surplus of \$150,000 lying to their credit at their bankers, in Philadelphia. The directors decided to increase their plant, and ordered 80

stamps to be shipped to the mine. In the meantime Guzman Blanco cast envious eyes on the property and made several offers for it, which were declined. Their superintendent was next got at, with the result that the 80 stamps, on their arrival at Bolivar, were dumped into the Orinoco river, where they lay for six months before they could be taken out. At great expense the stamps were finally put in place, when the whole mine was caved in on them. This exhausted their surplus, and stockholders had to go down into their pockets to repair the damage done. During Mr. Perot's absence from Venezuela, General Pulgar, acting for Guzman Blanco, bought in the mine at a forced sale on some fictitious ground. Mr. Perot, an American citizen, at once went to Venezuela and protested against this high-handed action and was thrown into prison, where he was only released by the good offices of the English Consul, and was glad to get out of the country with his life.

A PERFECT ENGLISH TITLE.

England feels that she has a perfect title to the land in question, and that it is a matter that concerns her and Venezuela alone. Several attempts at compromise have been made in years past, but came to naught owing to the demand of Venezuela, backed up by the United States, to extend the matter to the line of the Essequibo. As this country has been in continuous possession of the Dutch and afterward English territory for two hundred years, where millions of capital are invested, can it be wondered that Great Britain should refuse most positively to submit the lives and property of her subjects to the mere chance of submission to such a Government as that of Venezuela?

VENEZUELAN OUTRAGES.

A year ago two American prospectors crossed from the English to the Venezuelan territory at Uruan; on the one side the Venezuelans had a station with fifty men; on the other, the English two sub-inspectors and five men; the Americans were promptly arrested, being without passports, and in response to their appeal, Inspector Barnes crossed to the Venezuelan side to mediate in their favour. He was immediately placed under arrest, the Venezuelans then crossed the river, tore down the English flag, trampled it to pieces, and placed the whole guard under arrest, the station being entirely looted. The men were marched over a rough country to Bolivar, where word was received from President Crespo to set them free. The American miners were forced to cross the country with ropes around their necks; one of them died upon arrival at Bolivar from the ill-treatment received, and the other escaped to Trinidad, broken in health, with all his property gone. A statement of these facts was sub-

mitted to the State Department by the United States Consul, Dr. Splight, but nothing has been heard of any demand made for redress from the Venezuelan Government. Although this outrage occurred over a year ago, Venezuela, up to the present, has offered no apology or indemnity to Great Britain, although one has now been peremptorily demanded. That is has been so is only one of the many proofs that Great Britain, jealous of her right and strength, has shown extreme anxiety to defer to the wishes of this country as far as is compatible with her dignity and self-respect.

THE WAY OUT.

There will be no war. War between two such countries as England and the United States upon such a trivial matter would be the greatest crime the world has ever witnessed; it is impossible for these two countries to go to arms without bringing on a general European war, the result of which no one can calculate in its loss of blood and treasure. The house of Rothschilds is composed of five different nationalities, one English, another French, another Austrian, another German, but they are all Rothschilds. With the enormous interests they have at stake and the power they can bring to bear on the various Governments, who dare not go to war without their consent, it may be taken for granted that such pressure will be brought to bear as will remove all possibility of conflict. In order that both the United States and Great Britain can withdraw honourably and without loss of prestige, a way will be found whereby intimation will be conveyed to Venezuela that she must deal directly with British Guiana, which in turn will be instructed to make some concession on the Schomburg line either in money or territory, and that will be the end of the matter. In the meantime British Guiana will have got an immense amount of free advertising, and the losses already inflicted by President Cleveland's hasty and ill-advised action will render impossible his nomination as a future President.



PRESIDENT MONROE'S DOCTRINE.

Reviewed by Prof. Shortt of
Queen's University.

CANNING AND MONROE.

Conditions Under Which the
Doctrine Was First Stated.

As Much an English as an American
Doctrine—It is Not Involved in
Venezuela.

In order properly to understand those particular statements of views which now pass under the name of the Monroe doctrine we must, first of all, know something of the atmosphere of domestic and international politics in which they found expression and the special conditions which gave rise to them. The storm of the French revolution and its resulting anarchy, the rise of Napoleon bringing order out of chaos only to spread wilder confusion through Europe and beyond it, absorbed the attention of the world from 1789 to 1815 and weakened popular faith in the stability of human institutions, spreading alarm among rulers and encouraging revolt among the oppressed. The alarm among rulers expressed itself in 1815 in what is known as the Holy Alliance between the monarchs of Russia, Austria, Prussia, France, Spain, Ferdinand and Naples. The central object of this alliance was to support the divine right of kings against the invasions of democracy. In the same year a quadruple alliance was formed be-

tween Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia to support a stable government in France, prevent the Bonaparte family from returning to power and generally to maintain the balance of power. These two alliances are commonly confused, and but for the action of Britain there was little in the end to distinguish them, for at various conferences both lines of policy came up for discussion. When Holy Alliance matters alone were to be considered, as at the conferences of Troppau and Layback, Britain was not represented. But when matters coming within the sphere of the Quadruple Alliance were to be considered Britain was represented, as at the conference of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818 when the alliance was renewed, and at the congress of Verona, 1822, where the complications between Russia and Turkey were to be discussed. At both these conferences Britain protested against being committed to any policy of interference with the constitution or internal affairs of other powers.

The encouragement to revolt offered by the prevailing sense of the instability of institutions to those who considered themselves oppressed showed itself in the revolutions which began among the Spanish colonies of Central and South America in 1810, and in the revolutionary changes in Italy, Spain and Portugal from 1820 to 1822. Here, then, was work for the Holy Alliance, and the allies began with Italy. Through Austria they restored monarchy in Italy in 1821. Next they turned to Spain, where France undertook to re-establish the despotic power of Ferdinand. England said little in the case of Italy, but protested strongly in the case of Spain. France hedged for a time as to her real purpose, but at last, just before invading Spain, threw off all disguise and declared that "all these measures would tend to preserve those great attributes inseparable from monarchies—the inviolability and safety of kings." The French forces succeeded in restoring Ferdinand to his former position, and preparations were at once spoken of for the restoration of the Spanish power in the South American colonies, now almost wholly independent and under more or less settled republican Governments. To this England, now under Canning's Ministry,

was very strongly opposed. Foreseeing that this might be attempted with the aid of French power, Canning had warned France of the determined opposition of Britain in the following terms:—"With respect to the provinces in America, which have thrown off their allegiance to the crown of Spain, time and the course of events appear to have substantially decided their separation from the mother country, although the formal recognition of these provinces as Independent States by his Majesty may be hastened or retarded by various external circumstances, as well as by the more or less satisfactory progress in each State towards a regular and settled form of government. Spain has long been apprised of Majesty's opinions upon this subject. Disclaiming in the most solemn manner any intention of appropriating to himself the smallest portion of the late Spanish possessions in America, his Majesty is satisfied that no attempt will be made by France to bring under her dominion any of those possessions, either by conquest or by cession, from Spain. This frank explanation upon the points on which perhaps alone the possibility of any collision of France with Great Britain can be apprehended in a war between France and Spain, your Excellency will represent to M. de Chateaubriand as dictated by an earnest desire to be enabled to preserve in that war a strict and undeviating neutrality."

OBJECTS OF THE HOLY ALLIANCE

The intentions of the Holy Alliance with reference to the Spanish colonies are sufficiently indicated in the following extract:—The Prince de Polignac, representing Russia, declares to Canning, in an effort to remove his opposition, "That in the interest of humanity, and especially in that of the Spanish colonies, it would be worthy of the European Governments to concert together the means of calming, in those distant and scarcely civilized regions, passions blinded by party spirit, and to endeavor to bring back to a principle of union in government, whether monarchical or aristocratical, people among whom absurd and dangerous theories were now keeping up agitation and disunion." And the King of Spain, addressing the courts of Russia, Austria and France in particular, and the

world in general, declares, through Count Oñalía, that "The King, our Sovereign, being restored to the throne of his ancestors in the enjoyment of his hereditary rights, has seriously turned his thoughts to the fate of his American dominions, distracted by civil war, and brought to the brink of the most dangerous precipice. Accordingly the King has resolved upon inviting the Cabinets of his dear and intimate allies to establish a conference at Paris, to the end that their plenipotentiaries, assembled there along with those of his Catholic Majesty, may aid Spain in adjusting the affairs of the revolted countries of America." Canning once more declared "That the British Government were of opinion that any attempt to bring Spanish America again under its ancient submission to Spain must be utterly hopeless." Britain, however, would not interfere between Spain and her colonies. "But the junction of any foreign power in an enterprise of Spain against the colonies would be viewed by them as constituting an entirely new question, and one upon which they must take such decision as the interests of Great Britain might require." The British Government had waited long for Spain's recognition of the colonies. "But it could not wait indefinitely for that result; that it could not consent to make its recognition of the new States dependent upon that of Spain, and that it would consider any foreign interference, by force or by menace, in the dispute between Spain and the colonies as a motive for recognizing the latter without delay." Britain had already sent Consuls to those States whose Governments were established. England's only interest in the matter, as Canning constantly declared, was the security of her trade, and recognizing the prosperous growth of the United States, with consequent development of English trade, it was generally believed that the South American colonies, if independent, would be equally successful. Canning's policy was extremely popular with all parties in Britain, the Opposition condemning only its moderation. We turn next to the American side of the Atlantic. James Monroe was President of the United States for two terms, from 1816 to 1824. He had been Ambassador to France during the early days of the revolution, was thoroughly familiar with the European system, and was much impressed with the unhappy condition of the people and the selfish and ruthless exercise of sovereign power. He had devoted much attention to the foreign relations of his country, then both numerous and important, and always advocated the policy of neutrality. When he became President he gave prominence to these matters in his messages to Congress. Three ideas are prominent in his message, namely, the fortunate position of the United



States in being free from the struggles, intrigues and sufferings of Europe; their equal fortune in enjoying a free and stable form of government, and the expansion of the country in population, wealth and territory. The struggle for freedom and independence in the South American colonies was watched with interest and sympathy. At the same time every appearance of taking the side of either party was carefully avoided. Thus in 1813, in his message to Congress, the President says: "In the civil war existing between Spain and the Spanish provinces in this hemisphere the greatest care has been taken to enforce the laws intended to preserve an impartial neutrality." And again: "This contest has from its commencement been very interesting to other powers, and to none more so than the United States. A virtuous people may and will confine themselves within the limits of a strict neutrality, but it is not in their power to behold a conflict so vitally important to their neighbors without the sensibility and sympathy which naturally belong to such a case." The same position and policy are maintained in each succeeding message. In 1822 the policy is thus expressed: "A strong hope was entertained that peace would ere this have been concluded between Spain and the independent Governments south of the United States in this hemisphere. We still cherish the hope that the result will not long be postponed. Sustaining our neutral position and allowing to each party while the war continues equal rights, it is incumbent on the United States to claim of each with equal rigor the faithful observance of our right according to the well-known law of nations." Up to this point, then, we observe that the policies of Britain and of the United States are identical, and we find from several expressions, both of Canning and Monroe, that they were working in concert. Their interests were the same, mainly commercial, and they were co-operating in the suppression of the piracy which had grown up in consequence of the struggle between the colonies and Spain. As yet, however, the United States had said nothing officially as to their attitude in case Spain should receive assistance from any other country in subduing its colonies. Canning made his first decisive declaration to France on March 31, 1823, and it appears that during the latter part of the summer, the attitude of the alliance becoming more determined, he sought the diplomatic support of the United States, which was readily granted.

THE MONROE MESSAGE.

Canning's reply to Russia, still more explicit, was made on Oct. 3, and the message of President Monroe to Congress was delivered on Dec. 2. After referring to the condition of Europe, and particularly to the successful struggle of Greece for liberty, no other power having taken part against her, the message continues: "In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy to do so. It is only when our rights

are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defence. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments. And to the defence of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. In the war between those new Governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur, which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security. The late events in Spain and Portugal show that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact no stronger proof can be adduced than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on any principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed, by force, in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interpositions may be carried on the same principle is a question in which all independent powers, whose Governments differ from theirs, are interested, even those most remote, and surely none more so than the United States. Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early age of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers, to consider the Government de facto as the legitimate Government for us, to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm and manly policy, meeting, in all instances, the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none, but in regard to those continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different.

119

It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness, nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new Governments and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course."

HARMONY OF POLICY.

Here again it is obvious that there is a perfect harmony of policy between England and the United States. The attitude already taken by Canning in several State papers is also taken by President Monroe. The common elements in the foreign policies of the two nations may be summarized thus: No sympathy with the political system sought to be enforced by the allied powers; a refusal to interfere in the internal affairs of other nations; perfect neutrality in the struggle between Spain and her colonies, though holding the opinion that the colonies have practically secured their freedom, and expressing the hope that Spain will speedily acknowledge their independence; and lastly, a determination to prevent any or all of the allies from interfering with the late Spanish colonies for the purpose of forcibly restoring the political supremacy of Spain or any other country. There is no indication whatever on the part either of Britain or the United States that either or both should exercise a protectorate over the South American republics. President Monroe in particular had often expressed to Congress the desire to see the new republics occupy the position of free and independent nations, exercising their full rights and bearing their full responsibilities before the world. Interference in behalf of these republics is threatened by each nation only in the specific case of coercion by the Holy Alliance for the purpose of interfering in their internal affairs and forcing on them a special form of government. Neither Canning nor Monroe assert any such principle as that the United States, because they happen to be in America, do not desire or would not be permitted to enforce their rights in Europe as against any State, great or small, by any methods within the limits of international law, or that any European State, because it happened to be in Europe, should not desire or would not be permitted to enforce its rights as against any American State, great or small, by similar methods. On the contrary, Monroe expressly declares the determination of the United States "to resent injuries or make preparations for our defence" "when our rights are invaded

or seriously menaced," and the United States were at that time associated with England in the suppression of piracy in South American waters, and claiming with rigor, as Monroe put it, from those same South American republics the faithful observance of rights according to the well-known law of nations.

The South American republics themselves did not understand from Monroe's message anything more than a warning directed against the programme of the Holy Alliance. Thus in the message of the Vice-President of Colombia, which then included Venezuela, to the Congress of 1824, the following statements occur:—"The King (Ferdinand) has been restored to absolute power by the aid of a French army, to which the Spaniards themselves afforded assistance. His official acts, as far as regards the new American States, show clearly that he intends to renew the war, to subject us to the ancient odious servitude of Spain." "The President of the United States has signalized his administration with an act eminently just and worthy of the classic land of liberty."

That Government considers any attempt on the part of the allied powers to extend their system to any portion of the American hemisphere as dangerous to the peace and security of the before-mentioned State. . . . The Executive, which cannot be indifferent to the turn which the politics of the United States have taken, is occupied efficaciously in reducing the question to definite and decisive points. The Republic of Colombia cannot be accused of anything by the allied powers; she and her Government have highly respected the rights of Sovereigns and those of their subjects. Ready to open to all nations the fountain of her national rights, she does not require any other obligation than that they respect her independence and her institutions." This indicates plainly enough that Colombia did not then expect protection from the United States on any other point than interference with its constitutional freedom, and to merit that it must show itself capable and willing to meet its obligations. With regard to Britain, the Government of Colombia is equally grateful. "The Executive had directed its relations to Europe, with Great Britain particularly, whose politics appear favorable to the cause of South America, and whose commercial relations have been more extensive and active. The sympathy of the opinion of the British public and its Government inspire the Executive with the most flattering hopes. The security which it has given us against the rumor that France will assist in the war which Spain intends to begin anew, to reduce us to her obedience, places us in a situation of not fearing such an occurrence."

AN ENGLISH DOCTRINE.

The Monroe doctrine, then, as applied to the South American republics,

1520

is plainly quite as much an English as an American doctrine, and the British Government is very far from repudiating it. It is simple, reasonable and justified of history, even though the South American republics have not fulfilled the high hopes which were entertained of them. But there is another portion of Mr. Monroe's message which is commonly held to be a part of his doctrine. In the newspapers, indeed, it has lately been figuring as the whole of it. I have already referred to Monroe's messages as containing three prominent ideas, the last one expressive of the rapid expansion of the country in population, wealth and territory. During his administration Florida was acquired, and rapid expansion had been made towards the west, though the far west was yet unoccupied. Longing eyes were cast on Texas, and there was a suspicion that the central object of the allies was to prevent the United States from acquiring that territory. On the Pacific coast in 1811 a small trading post called Astoria was established at the mouth of the Columbia River. Those were the days of free trade, the golden age of American foreign commerce, and the supremacy of the American merchant marine. American vessels were found in every sea, and among others in Bering Sea, pursuing whales, catching fish and seals along the northwest coast of America and among the Aleutian Islands, and trading with the natives on shore. The Russians, however, were the first in the field. Bering made his first voyage of discovery in 1728, the first traders from Russia made their appearance on the American coast in 1743, and in 1799 the Emperor Paul I. granted a charter to the Russian-American Company, giving it exclusive possession of the northwest coast of America down to the 55th degree of north latitude. But during the second decade of this century the American traders were pushing their trade and fishing so briskly along the coast as to cause the Russian company considerable anxiety on account of their competition. Accordingly, in 1821, the Russian-American Company drew up certain regulations to protect their monopoly, which received the assent of the Emperor, and were officially proclaimed in a ukase, dated October 9, 1821. The essential sections are the following:—"It is not permitted to any but Russian subjects to participate in the whale or other fishery, or any branch of industry whatever, in the island, ports and gulfs, and in general along the coast of the northwest of America from Bering Straits to the 51st degree of north latitude." "In consequence every foreign vessel is forbidden to touch at the Russian establishments enumerated in the preceding paragraph, or even to approach them within a less distance than 100 Italian miles. Whoever acts in contravention to this regulation shall lose his cargo." This brought a prompt remonstrance from the United States Secretary of State, John Quincy

Adams, and an assertion of the right of the American vessels to fish in those waters and trade with the Indians at least, on those coasts. It brought out also the British claims, based on discovery, conventions with Spain and occupation by the traders of the Hudson Bay Company. Considerable correspondence followed. A treaty with Russia in 1824, ratified by Monroe, settled the southern Russian limit at 54 degrees north latitude. A final settlement was not made with Great Britain till much later. Meantime, in reporting progress to Congress in his message of 1823, Monroe used these words:—"At the proposal of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the Minister of the Emperor residing here, full power and instructions have been transmitted to the Minister of the United States at St. Petersburg to arrange, by amicable negotiation, the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of this continent. A similar proposal had been made by his Imperial Majesty to the Government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." Considering that America still contained large tracts of unexplored and unsettled land, which the various States and colonies then existing on the American continents might be expected to settle in their normal expansion, but without being able to occupy them in the immediate future; considering, also, that the only claims recognized in law, up to this time, were priority of discovery, sometimes accompanied by formal declarations or acts of possession, and that most of the coasts of the continents which remained unoccupied at that time had been discovered by France, Spain or Portugal long before the United States became a nation, not to mention the recent republics of South America, this being, in fact, the basis of the Russian claims, it seemed necessary to Mr. Monroe to warn the European powers that the States and colonies already established in America could be expected to colonize these territories, and that therefore, no quite new colonies should be started in the future. That this is undoubtedly Monroe's view, and that it is based on the rapid expansion of the United States, is further shown in the concluding paragraph of his celebrated message: "If we compare the present condition of our Union with its actual state at the close of our revolution, the history of the world furnishes no example of a progress in improvement in all the important circumstances which constitute the happiness of a

121
nation which bears any resemblance to it. At the first epoch our population did not exceed 3,000,000. By the last census it amounted to about 10,000,000, and, what is more extraordinary, it is almost altogether native—for the emigration from other countries has been inconsiderable. At the first epoch half the territory within our acknowledged limits was uninhabited and a wilderness. Since then new territory has been acquired of vast extent, comprising within it many rivers, particularly the Mississippi, the navigation of which to the ocean was of the highest importance to the original States. Over this territory our population has expanded in every direction, and new States have been established almost equal in number to those which formed the first bond of our Union. This expansion of our population and accession of new States to our Union have had the happiest effect on all its highest interests. That it has eminently augmented our resources and added to our strength and respectability as a power is admitted by all. But it is not in these circumstances only that this happy effect is felt. It is manifest that by enlarging the basis of our system and increasing the number of States the system itself has been greatly strengthened in both its branches."

A NEW INTERPRETATION.

That Monroe had no idea of restricting the normal expansion of any existing colonies in America is obvious from his express assertion that "with the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere," and from his recognition of Russian and British rights to vast unexplored and unsettled regions, permitting, in the case of Britain at least, an expansion and colonization almost as great as that of the United States itself. Moreover, there is nothing in Monroe's language to indicate that he included the British system of representative government under the political system of the allies which he declared to be so much out of harmony with American conditions. On the contrary, he always speaks of that political system in such a way as to exclude Britain. If, then, Monroe and his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, who was equally involved in formulating the Monroe doctrine, and who became his successor as President, saw no danger to the rights and interests of the United States in the free expansion of British colonization and the British political system over a vast new and unexplored area along the borders of the United States, it can hardly be expected that they would have taken alarm at the expansion of another very small British colony in South America over territory claimed as belonging to the colony for an indefinite time. With the Monroe doctrine, as stated by Monroe himself, Britain of all nations should be the

last to find fault. That doctrine in its widest range expresses but two principles—first, that no European power shall forcibly interfere with the internal politics of any American State, or attempt to force upon it any other form of government than that which it has freely chosen for itself; and, secondly, that the existing States and colonies of America require for their normal expansion the remaining territory of this continent, and that therefore no new European colonies are to be established here. Obviously enough, whether the British claims in Guiana are well-founded or not, the dispute as to the boundary line is not one in which the Monroe doctrine is at all involved. That President Monroe, who may be said to have devoted his long political life, in the most active period of foreign relations through which the United States has passed, to developing and maintaining for his country an attitude of the strictest possible neutrality and non-interference in its relations with other countries, should in these last few years be taken as the authority for the most novel and extended policy of interference in foreign relations that the world has even known since the operations of the Holy Alliance, is one of the most remarkable ironies of history.

ADAM SHORTT.

Queen's University, Dec. 28.

SATURDAY NIGHT.

Jan. 4, 1896

The Lessons of 1812.



IN view of the talk of war between Great Britain and the United States during the past month, it may be interesting to cull from history a few facts in regard to the war of 1812 and the Revolution. Some very striking moral lessons are contained in the records of those conflicts, lessons that should not be lost upon citizens of the United States, Canada and Great Britain. Those who are in a position to do so, should take to delving into

history for themselves, to find out the merits of the disputes that caused the spilling of "brother's blood" in 1774 and in 1812. For the benefit of those who have not the time let me submit a few points.

It is very seldom remarked in these days that the colonists, when they cast tea into the Boston harbor and when they first fought with the British regulars in 1774, had no intention of indulging in revolution or of creating a republic, but were simply rebelling against injustice. They intended to resist and put an end to oppression. But the revolution came in spite of them, for blood once shed cannot be restored to the veins again, and soon, within a year of the beginning of the rebellion, the purpose of independence had taken shape. France sent her aid; Spain and Holland declared war on England and fully occupied her greatest fighting strength in holding her own in Europe. Great Britain therefore did not throw her whole weight against the Thirteen Colonies. She was too busy nearer home for one thing, and for another, many leading Englishmen, including Pitt, had long contended that the British rule of the colonies was oppressive and indefensible. But while it is well for citizens of the United States to remember these facts, it is well for Englishmen to remember the repulses of Burgoyne and Cornwallis, and how inferior forces of poorly armed and disorganized colonists repeatedly defeated British regulars. In the end the Thirteen Colonies won and were admitted into full nationhood.

It has been said that God fights upon the side that has the finest battalions. This is not true. It was not true of the Revolution, and I intend presently to show that it was not true in 1812.

It is not necessary to go into full explanations of the causes that led to the war of 1812. Before war was declared President Jefferson had occupied himself for four years and President Madison for two, in special pleading to invent a sufficient cause of quarrel and to incite the people of the United States to the war mood. If it ever happens that the secret history of diplomacy between the United States and France during the years 1805 to 1812 inclusive, shall be written, it will almost undoubtedly be shown that Napoleon was the real cause of the trouble of 1812. In 1793 Great Britain declared war on France, and it might almost be said that from that time until Waterloo had been fought and won, England was contending with Napoleon in all parts of the world. In that time Napoleon rose from obscurity to a place of empire, had subdued most of Europe and placed his puppets on half a dozen thrones. In 1805, the year when President Jefferson first saw fit to send Congress a message expressing a serious sense of grievance against Great Britain, Napoleon was anointed emperor of the French by the Pope, and at that very time had the finest army the world had ever seen ready for the invasion of England. More than that, he had declared that he would recover the French colonies in Canada that had been conquered by the British. There is everything to suggest that his disturbing hand pushed along the Washington authorities in seeking trouble with Great Britain. Fortunately, however, Nelson won the battle of Trafalgar in 1805 and made Napoleon comparatively harmless upon the seas. He could neither land in England nor venture to send a force to Canada.

President Jefferson sent various messages to Congress in 1805-6-7, all expressing grievances and covertly implying the necessity of war. An embargo was put upon American shipping that brought about the loss of millions of dollars to citizens of the United States, but in its effects this measure aided France, injured England and caused American shipping to collect in home ports in readiness for the war that, at this distance, Jefferson and his intimates seem all along to have determined upon. The right to search neutral vessels for deserters from the British navy was exercised

by England, the war measures affecting commerce adopted by Great Britain in retaliation upon the decrees issued for the same purpose by Napoleon—these were the grievances that caused Jefferson to prepare for war and Madison to precipitate it. But neither of these presidents resented Napoleon's decrees which just as arbitrarily violated the rights of neutral powers.

For seven years before war was actually declared, the United States was in active preparation for it. Arms and equipments were being distributed and men drilled. Two Presidents persevered in the writing of messages, and orators indulged in harangues. Great Britain declined positively to understand that the possibility of war was real. The admiral who was responsible for the forcible searching of the American frigate *Chesapeake*, was deposed from his position and an apology sent to Congress. When Yankee soldiers in Fort Niagara fired upon Canadians upon the river, right under the guns of Fort George, in 1807, that British fort had to swallow the affront and suffer the crime to pass notice, owing to strict orders to preserve peace under all provocation. This overt act was ignored by Great Britain, which civilly reported the affair at Washington and was uncivilly referred to the civil courts. It was impossible to maintain army discipline on the borders owing to the bribery and incitement to mutiny carried on by American secret service agents; indeed, when Brock went to Queenston to engage the Americans after war began, he found all the British regulars in irons for mutiny. The moral that Great Britain may find in reading the history of these events is that it does not always take two to make a quarrel, although two are necessary to a fight. England did everything that could be done, without crippling its efforts against Napoleon, to avert the war of 1812.

But it came.

The citizens of the United States should remember that when Congress declared war in 1812, Napoleon was at the head of an army of nearly 400,000 men, with Great Britain his chief adversary, and that during the years 1812-13-14 the great campaigns were fought that ended in Napoleon's first abdication and brief exile in 1814.

Congress declared war on June 18, 1812, and Great Britain reluctantly followed suit four months later, Oct. 13. This is where I intend to prove that the Almighty does not fight upon the side which has the finest battalions. The student who reads history carefully must feel something like awe in the presence of the facts of the American Revolution and the war of 1812. In the first the Americans won with very inferior forces; in the second, they lost every vital engagement except the battle of New Orleans, which was fought after a treaty of peace had been signed.

In 1812 the population of the United States was 8,000,000. The population of all Canada was 300,000, and of these only 4 500 were British regulars, scattered from the Detroit river to Halifax in small handfuls. The population of Upper Canada was only 77,000. The regulars were so few, and distributed over so vast and untraversable a territory that the war was really between Canada and the United States.

It is customary for the Yankees to speak of this war as having occurred upon the high seas and at New Orleans, where the sacking of the city of Washington by the British was avenged in a measure. Sometimes they will admit that their General Harrison drove "the British" out of Detroit and won the battle of Moraviantown. But the man who reads the history of the war as fought in Canada and along the boundary lines, finds only humiliation for the United States in it all.

Canada was invaded at three points: at Windsor, Queenston and at a point dangerous to Montreal. In almost every battle that was fought the Canadians were outnumbered, usually four to one, and yet won the greater part of the victories, and all the vital ones. A war designed to add Canada to the Union, saw, at the end of the first year, Michigan added to Canada. The next year saw Michigan recovered by the Union, while Maine fell to Canada, and with Fort Mackinaw remained in possession of Canada until peace restored the old boundary lines.

The reader is interested as he grasps the situation during that war—eight million people trying in vain to overcome three hundred thousand. Queenston Heights, Chateauguay (where 400 French-Canadians repulsed 3,000 invaders and saved Montreal), Lundy's Lane, Chrysler's Farm, and a dozen other engagements were fought and won by Canada, and the significant truth is made plain that God does not fight on the side of the finest battalions. The Thirteen States triumphed in their war because their cause was just; the same people suffered defeat from inferior forces in 1812 because they had become aggressors and oppressors. But, beaten and humiliated by Canadians, when the first abdication of Napoleon caused a brief peace that enabled Great Britain for the first time to turn her strength against the United States by sending out 16,000 veterans of the Napoleonic wars, the tide of affairs changed, for the balance of justice had altered, and the nation that could not withstand the Canadian settlers withstood the British troops at New Orleans. There is a power higher than the strength of armed battalions, directing the rise and fall of nations. Even Robert Ingersoll must admit this, though he would call this power by another name than Providence.

194

The same desperate courage and heroism that fired the settlers who fought with Washington against the veterans under Burgoyne and Cornwallis, also fired the settlers, traders and shop-keepers of Canada when they defended their homes under the military guidance of Brock, Sheaffe, Vincent and De Salaberry. Once more it was demonstrated that some power not to be set down upon the army roster aids Justice against Greed and arms Freedom against Aggression. The same energy that made our disorganized and half-armed settlers victorious against the Americans in the first three years of the war made the Americans victorious when, later, Great Britain threatened the existence of the Union at New Orleans.

The United States should bear in mind, then, that its own experience plainly proves that the outcome of war does not always depend upon guns and a multiplicity of men. Call it Destiny or what you will, there is a force that guards the just and makes the weak strong. It is even more marked with nations than with individuals, and nowhere in history is it more clearly exemplified than in the case of the United States at the time of the Revolution, and in the case of Canada in 1812.

The just cause won in each case; the aggressors failed, and the oppressed came out victorious and banded together as never before. Any idea of emancipating Canada from "the British yoke" should be abandoned. We are not looking for emancipation, and if invaded will fight for our homes and institutions as desperately as ever men fought. To assail us now would make a breach on this continent that all time would not heal. If ever Canada is to stand free in name as she is in fact, it must be by her own act, the outcome of her own necessities, and not through the aggressive brute force of the neighboring republic. Assaults upon her in the formative period can but repel her in sentiment and organization from the United States. Cleveland's war talk has done more for the cause of Imperial Federation than ten years of domestic agitation along this line, and the firing of a single gun would sign a pact between the Dominion and the Empire that may otherwise never receive the signature of Miss Canada.

In 1812 our population faced that of the United States, 1 against 27; to-day we face

them, 1 against 13, more friendly in peace, more resolute in war than we were then. Since 1812 our population has been multiplied by seventeen; the population of the United States has been multiplied by eight.

The lesson for Great Britain in it all is, that if Cleveland and his friends secretly want war, war will come with or without cause, and the possibility of it should not be ignored. The lesson for the United States is that no man can fight like the man who stands guard by his own door-post to defend his household gods. The lesson for Canada is that without provocation on our part we may at any time be plunged in war; that our grandfathers, one against twenty-seven, held their own in a just cause. Our cause should be as just, our valor as great. The lesson for all is that the Anglo-Saxon breed of men are not the kind who can be conquered and assimilated by force. There is no instance of it in history. There will be none.

MACK.



THE CHICAGO TIMES-HERALD,
WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1895.

THE NATION WITH THE PRESIDENT.

President Cleveland has laid before congress the correspondence between the United States and Great Britain touching the Venezuela dispute.

Great Britain declines to consent that the issue between herself and Venezuela shall be settled by arbitration.

At the same time Great Britain denies the validity of the Monroe doctrine.

The United States now must take two steps, if need be; one forthwith. President Cleveland asks congress to make an appropriation for a judicial commission to investigate on behalf of this country the merits of the contention concerning frontier between British Guiana and Venezuela. If that commission shall find that Great Britain is right in her claims the decision to stand and be upheld by us; if the commission of the United States shall find that Great Britain's claims are unfounded any attempt on the part of Great Britain to enforce such claims by arms to be resisted with arms by the United States. This is the essence of President Cleveland's message.

This is simple, direct and deserving of the approval of the entire American people. The President writes dispassionately but firmly. He insists that although the Monroe doctrine has never been admitted into an international code, as Great Britain alleges, its recognition and enforcement are essential to the peace and safety of the Republic of the United States. He would deplore conflict with Great Britain, but, to use his own impressive and virile words, "there is no calamity which a great nation can invite which equals that which follows a supine admission to wrong and injustice and the consequent loss of national self-respect and honor beneath which is shielded and defended a people's safety and interests."

The nation is with the President. It makes no difference to us whether or not any foreign government may decline to admit validity of the Monroe doctrine. We are not capable of the puerility of entreating recognition of it as a favor. We are prepared to demonstrate its validity with the entire strength of a sovereign people. Its assertion and enforcement are necessary to our place in the world. We cannot permit it to be pronounced invalid except at the risk of inviting every aggressive monarchy in the old world to seek pretext to re-establish on this continent monarchical institutions, overthrown at enormous loss of life and treasure and in heroic resistance to superior arms and imperial wealth. The test was bound to come sooner or later. It is within discernment now. There will be no faltering nor flinching should the possible become actual.

Let us find out with perfect disinterestedness whether or not there is reason for assertion of the Monroe doctrine in this instance. If the judgment of the boundary commission be with Great Britain humanity may well rejoice; if it be with Venezuela the American people will be thrice armed in having their quarrel just.

The Monroe doctrine is an unwritten constitution of the United States. It shall be so maintained whenever the occasion arrives demanding its engraving in the international code. If Great Britain were conscious of having good title to the disputed territory she would have eagerly availed of the American offer of arbitration. Nevertheless we shall arbitrate the question justly for her. Civilization will have no cause for reproaching us if the consequences of our peaceable but rejected efforts prove disastrous to a government that twice compelled the American people to drive its pretensions with force off the American continent and now ventures to suggest the same ceremony a third time.

BOLD TO DEFIANCE

Thrilling Message in Support of the
Monroe Doctrine.

CLEVELAND SPEAKS OUT.

House and Senate Deeply Touched
by Stirring Sentences.

CLNEY, TOO, CAUTIONS BRITAIN

United States Practically Sovereign in
This Continent—Investigation
in Venezuela Asked.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17.—Deep and strong was the feeling in congress when the President's Monroe doctrine message was read to-day. The silence was impressive. It was broken now and then by a wave of enthusiasm as some significant sentence was repeated—not the enthusiasm of passionate men, nor of men eager for war, but of thoughtful, determined men who well understand the serious nature of the international complication with which the nation is now face to face. One could easily read in the faces of these representatives the temper of the American people behind them, consciousness of their national rights and calm determination to maintain them. The applause, in both senate and house, came not noisily, not with bluster, but with the even roll of deep feeling and strong conviction. It came, too, from all parts of the great executive chambers, from men of all parties and sections. There is no politics, no north or south, in the approval which the American congress gives to the efforts of the President to establish the Monroe doctrine before the world.

There was a memorable scene in the senate. Nearly every man was in his seat. The reading was followed with an interest almost painful. So eager were the senators to catch every word the President had written that Mr. Hawley asked the secretary to read more slowly. One of the rules of the senate is that there shall be applause

neither upon the floor nor in the galleries. But presently a wave of feeling runs through the assemblage. The rules are forgotten by the most staid and punctilious of senators. From all parts of the chamber comes a salvo of hand-clapping, and now and then, as the reading proceeds, it is repeated. If a single senator on the floor failed to take part in it he was not observable from the press gallery. The republicans appeared more alert and emphatic even than their democratic friends across the aisle. The applause was taken up in the galleries, and Vice President Stevenson made no effort to check it. Not for many years has such a scene been witnessed in the United States senate chamber.

In the house of representatives, where sit the men fresh from the people, there was a still more impressive scene. It was after 1 o'clock when Speaker Reed laid before the house the message and its accompanying documents. All criticism of the delay as disrespectful to the President of the United States was forgotten in the presence of the momentous issue. Throughout the afternoon the house had discussed, in a perfunctory sort of way, a question of rules for which few, if any, cared. Ordinarily a quorum would have melted away in this round of dullness. But to-day there was something in the air besides parties and elections. There was a question of war or peace to meet. A great American principle was to live or die. Not a man left the hall.

When Speaker Reed broke the seal of the big packet which had lain so long upon his table and passed the contents to the reading clerk every eye was upon him. Every member in town was in his seat. No man wrote letters, smoked, spoke to his neighbor, or was willing his neighbor should speak to him. Every one sat bolt upright, tense, eager, thoughtful. The galleries were thronged, too. The reading clerk, for once and a wonder, realized the significance of his text, and gave over his hasty drawl, instead reading slowly and enunciating clearly. The usual hubbub and confusion of the great hall were silenced. The man who coughed blushed for the commotion he had caused in that still assemblage. The clerk read on and on, with not the faintest audible sound but his own voice to disturb the air. But presently he read, with long rows of grave faces looking up at him, these words of the President:

"Having labored faithfully for many years to induce Great Britain to submit this dispute to impartial arbitration, and having been now finally apprised of her refusal to do so, nothing remains but to accept the situation, to recognize its plain requirements, and deal with it accordingly."

Then the feeling broke forth. It could be expressed no longer. Strong and steady came a wave of hand-clapping which went through the hall. There were no cheers, nothing denoting excitement or impulse. The President's ominous sentence had sim-



ply touched the national pride, the patriotic convictions of these representatives of the people.

+ + +

Then the clerk read admirably the President's proposal for a commission to investigate the facts and report "with the least possible delay," this following sentence:

"When such report is made and accepted, it will, in my opinion, be the duty of the United States to resist, by every means in its power, as a willful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands, or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory which, after investigation, we have determined of right belongs to Venezuela."

Again the men who had met here from every corner of the American republic expressed their approval. No man's hands were still. The clerk went on. Reaching the closing paragraph of the President's communication, he cleared his throat and slowly, effectively repeated these words:

"While it is a grievous thing to contemplate the two great English speaking peoples of the world as being otherwise than friendly competitors in the onward march of civilization and strenuous and worthy rivals in all the arts of peace, there is no calamity which a great nation can invite which equals that which follows a supine submission to wrong and injustice and the consequent loss of national self-respect and honor beneath which is shielded and defended a people's safety and greatness."

Once more the three hundred and odd men on the floor of the popular branch of the legislature signified their support of the executive. No man who witnessed the scene but was impressed by their unanimity, by their quiet determination, by the dignity even of their enthusiasm. For some moments the round of hand-clapping continued. No man failed to join in it, none was too demonstrative. It was like the roll of drums.

+ + +

But the clerk had not finished his task. He poised his manuscript in the air, and waited for the last shout to die away in a corner of the hall. Then he concluded his part of the drama. He had only two words to read, and these were simply: "Grover Cleveland." But here came the warmest bit of color in the historic picture. Louder than ever before was the applause; it was loudest on the republican side. The speaker, even, joined in it, perhaps unconsciously. The Monroe doctrine issue was before the congress and the country.

+ + +

If President Cleveland had a keed for a declaration of war he could have had it. If he had asked for authority to issue an ultimatum he could have had that. Had Speaker Reed been willing, the appropriation for a committee, of which he is a member, would have been made within an hour. Ex-Speaker Tilden sought the recognition of the chair to introduce a resolution appropriating \$100,000 for a commission of investigation. But the speaker recognized Mr. Hingley, who moved adjournment, and the house adjourned.

And what will congress do about it? There is no doubt in any quarter as to that. It will make an appropriation for a Venezuela boundary commission. It ought to do so this week, before the holiday adjournment. To-day it was generally believed it would take the matter up immediately. The President yesterday intended to withhold his message until Thursday or Friday, but decided late last night to send it to congress to-day, so that during the remainder of the week provision might be made for the proposed commission. To-night it was discovered the republican leaders in both house and senate prefer not to take any action till after the recess. The probabilities now are that nothing more will be done this month. If there develops in congressional treatment of this question the faintest suspicion of politics it is believed the people will quickly resent it.

+ + +

The President wants action. At the earliest practicable moment he will appoint the commission, and its members will sail for Venezuela, probably aboard a government cruiser or gunboat. In the opinion of the secretary of state, not a great deal of time need be consumed in the proposed investigation. It is strongly believed the President will ask ex-Senator Edmunds to take the chairmanship of the commission. Mr. Coudert is also mentioned. Opinions are expressed that Chief Justice Fuller and Justice Harlan may be members of the commission. While this is doubtful, it is conceded the President will endeavor to make up a commission of eminent men.

+ + +

Only the President's message was read in congress. The best part of the exhibit, the note which Secretary Olney sent to London last July, and whose context was long ago so faithfully epitomized in dispatches to THE TIMES-HERALD, was not read until to-night by senators and representatives. It is already regarded as the greatest diplomatic dispatch emanating from our government in many years. It is looked upon as second in importance only to the Monroe doctrine itself. The secretary is praised in every quarter for his masterly elucidation of that doctrine. In one vivid sentence he has, it is believed, caught the imagination of the American people, and that sentence is:

"The United States is to-day practically sovereign on this continent and its fiat is law."

+ + +

It is everywhere conceded Secretary Olney's matchless note will clear the atmosphere so far as the American congress and people are concerned, that it will dispel all doubts as to what the Monroe doctrine is, as to why and how we should declare it as a part of the American system. It is believed, moreover he has pointed the way to congressional action strong and pertinent, and yet not too strong, and that energy will by joint resolution, almost unanimously adopted, pledge the flag of the United States to maintenance of the principles set forth by the President in his noble secretary for foreign affairs.

+ + +

What will Great Britain do? Opinions in Washington vary widely. One man believes England will retreat, another that she will deem herself to be involved in such way that she must fight. On most opinion is as



valuable to brothers, but many conservative public men who have read Salisbury's reply fear the worst. After such a positive refusal to arbitrate, such a curt "none of your business," they do not see how her majesty's government can find the road for a graceful retreat. Others call attention to the forbearance and prudence of the President, who with his suggestion for the appointment of a commission has prepared the way for a pause in settlement of the controversy, a pause which may give Great Britain time to come to a full realization of the fact that this is a question which cannot be trifled with, and that it does not pay to play with fire. If Salisbury has desired evidence of the sincerity and determination of the American people he has found it in to-day's scenes in both branches of our congress.

+ + +

Not many persons noticed to-day in the gallery of the senate, and afterward in the house, the second secretary of the British embassy, Mr. Bax-Ironside. He was, indeed, the only occupant of the diplomatic gallery. He watched the scene on the floor below with undisguised interest. He made notes, too, and after adjournment he rushed away in great haste. If it is fair to presume that he was there for the purpose of noting the sentiment of congress, preparatory to cabling his impressions to the foreign office in London, Lord Salisbury will not have long to wait for evidence of the unity and feeling of the American congress on this great question.

WALTER WELLMAN.

Salisbury's Unsatisfactory Reply.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17.—[Associated Press.]—The text of the President's message is as follows:

TO THE CONGRESS:—In my annual message addressed to the congress on the 3d inst. I called attention to the pending boundary controversy between Great Britain and the Republic of Venezuela, and recited the substance of a representation made by this government to her Britannic majesty's government suggesting reasons why such dispute should be submitted to arbitration for settlement and inquiring whether it would be so submitted. The answer of the British government, which was then awaited, has since been received, and, together with the dispatch to which it is a reply, is hereto appended. Such reply is embodied in two communications addressed by the British prime minister to Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British ambassador at this capital.

It will be seen that one of these communications is devoted exclusively to observations upon the Monroe doctrine, and that it claims that in the present instance a new and strange extension and development of this doctrine is insisted on by the United States, that the reasons justifying an appeal to the doctrine enunciated by President Monroe are generally inapplicable "to the state of things in which we live in the present day," and are fully inapplicable to a controversy involving the boundary line between Great Britain and Venezuela.

Uncle Sam's Sound Doctrine.

Without attempting extended arguments in reply to these positions it may not be amiss to suggest that the doctrine upon which we stand is strong and sound because its enforcement is important to our peace and safety as a nation and is essential to the integrity of our free institutions and to the tranquil maintenance of our distinctive form of government. It was intended to apply to every stage of our national life and cannot become obsolete while our republic endures. If the balance of power is justly a cause for jealous anxiety among the governments of the old world and a subject for our absolute noninterference, none the less is an observance of the Monroe doctrine of vital concern to our people and their government.

Assuming, therefore, that we may properly insist upon this doctrine without regard to "the state of things in which we live," or any changed conditions here or elsewhere, it is not apparent why its application may not be invoked in the

present controversy. If a European power, by an extension of its boundaries, takes possession of the territory of one of our neighboring republics against its will and in derogation of its rights, it is difficult to see why, to that extent, such European power does not thereby attempt to extend its system of government to that portion of this continent which is thus taken. This is the precise action which President Monroe declared to be "dangerous to our peace and safety," and it can make no difference whether the European system is extended by an advance of frontier or otherwise.

It is also suggested in the British reply that we should not seek to apply the Monroe doctrine to the pending dispute because it does not embody any principle of international law which "is founded on the general consent of nations," and that "no statesman, however eminent, and no nation, however powerful, are competent to insert into the code of international law a novel principle which was never recognized before and which has not since been accepted by the government of any other country."

Rights of the United States.

Practically the principle for which we contend has peculiar, if not exclusive, relation to the United States. It may not have been admitted in so many words to the code of international law, but since in international councils every nation is entitled to the rights belonging to it, if the enforcement of the Monroe doctrine is a matter which we may justly claim it has its place in the code of international law as certainly and as securely as if it were specifically mentioned, and when the United States is a suitor before the high tribunal that administers international law the question to be determined is whether or not we present claims which the justice of that code of law can find to be right and valid.

The Monroe doctrine finds its recognition in those principles of international law which are based upon the theory that every nation shall have its rights protected and its just claims enforced.

Of course this government is entirely confident that under the sanction of this doctrine we have clear rights and undoubted claims. Nor is this ignored in the British reply. The prime minister, while not admitting that the Monroe doctrine is applicable to present conditions, states:

"In declaring that the United States would resist any such enterprise if it was contemplated, President Monroe adopted a policy which received the entire sympathy of the English government of that date."

He further declares: "Though the language of President Monroe is directed to the attainment of objects which most Englishmen would agree to be salutary, it is impossible to admit that they have been inscribed by any adequate authority in the code of international law."

Again he says: "The [her majesty's government] fully concurs with the view which President Monroe apparently entertained that any disturbance of the existing territorial distribution [is] considered by any fresh acquisitions on the part of any European state would be a highly invidious chance."

Britain Declines Fair Proposals.

In the belief that the doctrine for which we contend was clear and definite; that it was founded upon substantial considerations and involved our safety and welfare; that it was fully applicable to our present position and to the state of the world; progress and that it was directly related to the pending controversy, and without any conviction as to the final results of the dispute, but anxious to learn in a satisfactory and amicable manner whether Great Britain sought, under a claim of neutrality, to extend her possessions on this continent without right, or whether she merely sought possession of territory fairly included within her lines of dominion, the government proposed to the government of Great Britain a resort to arbitration as the proper means of settling the question, to be conducted on a neutral and friendly basis between the two countries, a method to be determined by and on equal standing and relation in respect to the controversy which has produced it.

It will be seen from the foregoing that we have with a good reason for our position, as has been stated by the British government upon a recent occasion, "the imperative necessity to be relieved from any uncertainty as to the policy which we should follow in regard to the boundary line between the two countries, a method to be determined by and on equal standing and relation in respect to the controversy which has produced it."



disputes on the comparatively weak and small, should have produced no better results.

The course to be pursued by this government in view of the present condition does not appear to admit of serious doubt. Having labored faithfully for many years to induce Great Britain to submit this dispute to impartial arbitration and having been now finally apprised of her refusal to do so, nothing remains but to accept the situation, to recognize its plain requirements and deal with it accordingly.

Time for Action by Uncle Sam.

Great Britain's present position has never thus far been regarded as admissible by Venezuela, though any adjustment of the boundary which that country may deem for her advantage and may enter into of her own free will cannot, of course, be objected to by the United States. Assuming, however, that the attitude of Venezuela will remain unchanged the dispute has reached such a stage as to make it now incumbent upon the United States to take measures to determine with sufficient certainty for its justification what is the true divisional line between the republic of Venezuela and British Guiana. The inquiry to that end should, of course, be conducted carefully and judicially, and due weight should be given to all available evidence, records and facts in support of the claims of both parties.

In order that such an examination should be prosecuted in a thorough and satisfactory manner I suggest that the congress make an adequate appropriation for the expenses of a commission to be appointed by the executive, who shall make the necessary investigation and report upon the matter with the least possible delay.

When such a report is made and accepted it will, in my opinion, be the duty of the UNITED STATES TO RESIST BY EVERY MEANS IN ITS POWER AS A WILLFUL AGGRESSION UPON ITS RIGHTS AND INTERESTS THE APPROPRIATION BY GREAT BRITAIN OF ANY LANDS OR THE EXERCISE OF GOVERNMENTAL JURISDICTION OVER ANY TERRITORY WHICH, AFTER INVESTIGATION, WE HAVE DETERMINED OF RIGHT BELONGS TO VENEZUELA.

In making these recommendations I am fully alive to the responsibility incurred and keenly realize all the consequences that may follow. I am nevertheless firm in my conviction that while it is a grievous wrong to contemplate the two great English-speaking peoples of the world as being otherwise than friendly competitors in the onward march of civilization, and strenuous and worthy rivals in all the arts of peace, there is no calamity which a great nation can invite which equals that which follows a shameful submission to wrong and injustice, and the consequent loss of national respect and honor beneath which is shielded a people's safety and greatness.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

Executive Mansion, Dec. 17.

Position Taken by Secretary Olney.

Accompanying the President's message is the correspondence on the subject. It starts with Secretary Olney's now celebrated note opening the negotiations with Great Britain, looking to the arbitration of the boundary dispute, bears date of July 20 last and is addressed to Mr. Bayard.

The secretary begins by stating that the President has given much anxious thought to the subject and has not reached a conclusion without a lively sense of its great importance as well as of the serious possibility involved in any action now to be taken. He then comments on the long duration of the boundary dispute, the "indefinite" claims of both parties and "the continuous growth of the undefined British claims," the fate of the various attempts at arbitration of the controversy and the part in the matter heretofore taken by the United States. He shows that the British claims since the Schomburgk line was run have moved the frontier of British Guiana farther and farther to the westward of the line proposed by Lord Alcock in 1841.

The secretary then summarizes the situation at the beginning of this year to be as follows:

1. The title to territory of indefinite but confessedly very large extent is in dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela.

2. The disparity in strength of the parties is such that Venezuela can hope to establish her claim only through peaceful methods.

3. The controversy has existed for half a century, despite Venezuela's efforts to establish a boundary.

4. Venezuela has for a quarter of a century striven for arbitration.

5. Great Britain has continuously refused except upon the renunciation in her favor of a large part of Venezuela's claims.

6. The United States has made it clear to Great Britain and the world by frequent interposition of good offices that the controversy is one in which its honor and its interests are involved and the continuance of which it cannot regard with indifference.

Questions to Interference.

This status compels those charged with the interests of the United States "to decide to what extent, if any, the United States may and should intervene in a controversy between and primarily concerning only Great Britain and Venezuela, and to decide how far it is bound to see that the integrity of Venezuelan territory is not impaired by the pretensions of its powerful neighbor. Are any such right and duty devolved upon the United States? If not, the United States has already done all, if not more than all, that a purely sentimental interest in the affairs of the two countries justifies, and to push its interposition further would be unbecomingly and undignified, and might well subject it to the charge of impertinent interference with affairs with which it has no rightful concern.

On the other hand, if any such right and duty exist, their due exercise and discharge will not permit of any action that shall not be efficient, and that, if the power of the United States is adequate, shall not result in the accomplishment of the end in view.

The question thus presented, as a matter of principle, and regard being had to the settled national policy, does not seem difficult of solution. Yet the momentous practical consequences dependent upon its determination require that it should be carefully considered, and that the grounds of the conclusion arrived at should be fully and frankly stated.

The secretary lays it down as a canon of international law that a nation may justly

interpose in a controversy between other nations whenever "what is done or proposed by any of the parties primarily concerned is a serious and direct menace to its own integrity, tranquility or welfare." The propriety of the rule, when applied in good faith, will not be questioned in any quarter, though, he says, it has been given a wide scope and too often made a cloak for schemes of wanton spoliation and aggrandizement.

Defines the Monroe Doctrine.

This leads him up to an elaborate review of the Monroe doctrine, and the secretary, stating that the proposition that America is no part open to colonization has long been conceded, says that our present concern is with the other practical application of the Monroe doctrine, viz., that American nonintervention in Europe necessarily implied European nonintervention in American affairs, the danger of which by any European power is to be deemed an act of unfriendliness toward the United States. On this point the secretary says:

The principle and the substance of this rule cannot be too clearly understood. It is not established any general prohibition by the United States over other American States. It does not relieve any State from its obligations under international law, nor prevent any European



power directly interested from enforcing such obligations or from inflicting merited punishment for the breach of them. It does not contemplate any interference in the internal affairs of any American state, or in the relations between it and other American states. It does not justify any attempt on our part to change the established form of government of any American state, or to prevent the people of such state from altering that form according to their own will and pleasure.

The rule in question has but a single purpose and object. It is that no European power or combination of European powers shall forcibly deprive an American state of the right and power of self-government and of shaping for itself its own political fortunes and destinies.

Far-Reaching in Its Scope.

The secretary continues:

It is manifest that a rule which has been openly and uniformly acted upon by the executive branch of the government for seventy years must have had the sanction of congress. Nor if the practical results of the rule be sought for in the record either meager or obscure. Its first effect was inde d momentous and far-reaching. It was the component factor in the emancipation of South America, and to it the independent states of that region are largely indebted for their very existence. Since then the most striking single achievement to be credited to the rule is the evacuation of Mexico by the French. But we are also indebted to it for the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, neutralizing any interoceanic canal across Central America and excluding Great Britain from any dominion there. It has been used in the case of Cuba as justifying the position that while the sovereignty of Spain will be respected the island will not be permitted to become the possession of any other European power. It has been influential in bringing about the definite relinquishment of any supposed protectorate by Great Britain over the Mosquito coast.

President Polk relied upon it, though perhaps erroneously, to prevent the transfer of Yucatan. General Grant, in the same spirit, declared that existing dependencies were no longer a subject of transfer from one European power to another, and another development is found in the objection to arbitration of South American controversies by a European power, and Secretary Bayard resisted the enforcement of the Pelletier claim against Hayti, declaring that "serious indeed would be the consequences if European hostile foot should without just cause tread those states in the new world which have emancipated themselves from European control."

For Americans to Decide.

"American questions, it is said, are for American decision," continues Secretary Olney, and then applying this doctrine in the reverse, he comments:

If all Europe were suddenly to fly to arms over the fate of Turkey, would it not be preposterous that any American state should find itself inextricably involved in the miseries and burdens of the contest? What have the states of America to do with the vast armies and fleets of Europe, and why should they be impoverished by wars in which they can have no direct concern? The moral interests of Europe are peculiar to her and entirely adverse from those which are peculiar to America. Europe is, with a single important exception, committed to the monarchial principle. America is devoted to the idea that every people has an undeniable right of self-government.

Any European control of our interests is necessarily both incongruous and injurious, and, if the facile intrusion of European powers in American politics is to be deplored, the resistance must come from the United States, the only power with strength adequate to the exigency.

There can be but one answer to the question whether the safety and welfare of the United States are so concerned with the maintenance of the independence of every American state as to require any European power as to justify and require our interference whenever that independence is endangered.

Self-Government at Stake.

These states are our friends and allies, commercially and politically, and to allow the subjugation of any of them by a European power reverses the situation and signifies a loss of all the advantages incident to their natural relation to us. But that is not all. The people of the United States have a vital interest in the cause of popular self-government, which they have secured at the cost of infinite blood and treasure. The age of the crusades has passed and they are content with such assertion and defense of the rights of self-government as their own security and welfare demand. It is in that view, more than any other, that they will not tolerate the political control of American states by the forcible assumption of a European power.

The mischiefs to be apprehended from such a source are none the less real because not immediately imminent in any specific case. THE UNITED STATES IS TO-DAY PRACTICALLY SOVEREIGN ON THIS CONTINENT AND ITS FIAT IS LAW. All the advantages of this superiority are at once imperiled if the principle be admitted that European powers may convert American states into colonies of their own. The principle could be easily availed of and any power doing so would immediately secure a base of military operations against us, and it is not inconceivable that the struggle now going on for the acquisition of Africa might be transferred to South America. The weaker countries would soon be absorbed and South America would be partitioned between European powers.

Consequences Would Be Dreadful.

The consequences to the United States would be disastrous. Loss of prestige would be the least of them. Our own real rivals in peace, as well as enemies in war, would be located at our very doors. We must be armed to the teeth, convert the flower of our male population into soldiers and sailors, and thus annihilate a large share of the productive energy of the nation. Our just apprehensions are not to be allayed by suggestions of the good will of European powers toward us, for the people of the United States have learned in the school of experience to what extent the relations of states depend, not upon sentiment or principle, but upon selfish interests. They will not soon forget that in their hour of distress all their anxieties and hurthens were aggravated by the possibility of demonstrations against their national life on the part of powers with whom they had long maintained the most harmonious relations. They have yet in mind that France seized upon the apparent opportunity of our civil war to set up a monarchy in Mexico, and had France and Great Britain held important South American possessions to work from and benefit, the temptation to destroy our predominance by furthering our dismemberment might have been irresistible. From that grave peril we were saved in the past and may be saved again in the future through the operation of the sore but silent voice of the doctrine proclaimed by President Monroe.

There is, then, a doctrine of American public law, well founded in principle and abundantly sanctioned by precedent, which entitles and requires the United States to treat as an injury to herself the forcible assumption by a European power of political control over an American state. The application of the doctrine to the boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela remains to be made, and presents no real difficulty.

England's Expanding Claim.

The secretary shows that, though relating to the boundary line, the question is one of political control over a domain of great extent. The British claim, apparently expanding in two years some 33,000 square miles, and directly involving the command of the mouth of the Orinoco, is of immense consequence in connection with the whole river navigation of the interior of South America. He dismisses as valueless the contention that British Guiana may in this controversy be regarded as an American state, like Venezuela.



zuela. He suggests that, while Venezuela might possibly not object to settling the matter directly with British Guiana, if this contention were once allowed every Euro-pean power with a South American colony might extend its possessions indefinitely, while other powers might do the same by first procuring a voluntary cession of a small tract of soil.

It is not admitted, and therefore cannot be assumed, that Great Britain is in fact usurping dominion over Venezuelan soil. While Venezuela charges such usurpation, Great Britain denies it, and the United States, until the merits are authoritatively ascertained, can take sides with neither, but it may demand that the truth shall be ascertained. Being entitled to resent and resist any sequestration of Venezuelan soil by Great Britain, it is necessarily entitled to know whether such sequestration has occurred or is now going on.

Britain's Shuffling Attitude.

There is but one feasible mode of determining the merits of the question, and that is peaceable arbitration. Great Britain admits that there is a controversy which should be adjusted by arbitration, but nullifies this admission by her insistence that the submission shall cover but a part of the controversy. If it were to point to a boundary which both parties either expressly or tacitly had ever agreed to, the demand that the territory within that line should be excluded from the dispute might rest upon a reasonable basis, but there is no such line.

Great Britain has shown in various instances that she was willing to arbitrate her political and sovereign rights when the interests or territory involved were not of controlling magnitude. Thus she arbitrated the extent of her colonial possessions with the United States, twice with Portugal, once with Germany, and perhaps in other instances.

The secretary quotes from some of these arbitrations in the past to sustain his assertion that the British demand for recognition of her right to a portion of the disputed territory before arbitration seems to stand upon nothing but her own ipse dixit. She says (comments Mr. Olney to Venezuela, in substance: "You can get none of the debatable land by force, because you are not strong enough; you can get none by treaty, because I will not agree; and you can take your chance at getting a portion by arbitration only if you first agree to abandon to me such other portions as I may designate."

This attitude, he says, is not characteristic of English love of justice and fair play; it places Venezuela under vital duress; the territory acquired would be as much wrested by the strong hand as if occupied by British troops.

Thus, Mr. Olney says, amounts to invasion and conquest, and our duty is summed up as follows:

In these circumstances the duty of the President accords to him unmistakable and imperative. Great Britain's assertion of title to the disputed territory, combined with her refusal to have that title investigated, being a substantial appropriation of the territory to her own use, not to protect and give warning that the transaction will be regarded as injurious to the interests of the people of the United States, as well as oppressive in itself, would be to ignore an established policy with which the honor and welfare of this country are closely identified. While the measures necessary

or proper for the vindication of that policy are to be determined by another branch of the government, it is clearly for the executive to leave nothing undone which may tend to render such determination unnecessary.

Mr. Bayard is directed to read the communication to Lord Salisbury and ask a definite decision regarding arbitration. The President hopes that the conclusion will be on the side of arbitration, but if he is disappointed, "a result not to be anticipated, and in his judgment calculated greatly to embarrass the future relations between this country and Great Britain," he wishes to be acquainted with the fact at such early date as will enable him to lay the whole subject before congress in his next annual message.

SALISBURY'S REPLY TO OLNEY.

Points Raised by the British Premier Against the Monroe Doctrine.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17.—The British side of the dispute is embodied in two notes from Lord Salisbury to Sir Julian Pauncefote. Both notes are dated the same day, and the one which the ambassador is directed to communicate to Secretary Olney is of the highest importance, as in it Lord Salisbury goes broadly into the Monroe doctrine. In full it is as follows:

[Lord Salisbury to Sir Julian Pauncefote.] Foreign Office, Nov. 26, 1895. Sir:—On the 7th of August I transmitted to Lord Gough a copy of the dispatch from Mr. Olney which Mr. Bayard had left with me that day and of which he had read portions to me. I informed him at the time that it could not be answered until it had been carefully considered by the law officers of the crown. I have, therefore, deferred replying to it till after the recess.

I will not now deal with those portions of it which are concerned exclusively with the controversy that has for some time past existed between the Republic of Venezuela and her majesty's government in regard to the boundary which separates their dominions. I take a very different view from Mr. Olney of various matters upon which he touches in that part of the dispatch; but I will defer for the present all observations upon it, as it concerns matters which are not in themselves of first-rate importance, and do not directly concern the relations between Great Britain and the United States.

The latter part, however, of the dispatch, turning from the question of the frontiers of Venezuela, proceeds to deal with principles of a far wider character, and to advance doctrines of international law which are of considerable interest to all the nations whose dominions include any portion of the western hemisphere. The conclusions set forth by Mr. Olney in this part of his dispatch are represented by him as being an application of the political maxims which are well known to American discussion under the name of the Monroe doctrine. As far as I am aware, this doctrine has never been before advanced on behalf of the United States in any written communication addressed to the government of another nation, but it has been generally adopted and assumed as true by many eminent writers and politicians in the United States. It is said to have greatly influenced the policy of that country in the conduct of its foreign affairs; though Mr. Cleveland, who was secretary of the United States President Taft, expressly stated that that administration had in no way adopted it.

Alleges Changes In the Doctrine.

But, during the period that has elapsed since the publication of President Monroe's famous declaration in 1823, the doctrine has undergone a vast and rapid development, and the aspect which it now presents in the hands of Mr. Olney differs widely from its course when it first issued from the pen of its author. The two propositions, which in 1823 President Monroe had drawn very loosely that America was no longer to be looked upon



a field for European colonization; and, secondly, that Europe must not attempt to extend its political system to America, to control the political condition of any of the American communities who had recently declared their independence.

The dangers against which President Monroe thought it right to guard were not as imaginary as they would seem at the present day. The formation of the holy alliance, the congresses of Laybach and Verona, the invasion of Spain by France for the purpose of forcing upon the Spanish people a form of government which seemed likely to disappear, unless it was sustained by external aid, were incidents fresh in the mind of President Monroe, when he penned his celebrated message. The system of which he speaks, and of which he so resolutely deprecates the application to the American continent, was the system then adopted by certain powerful states upon the continent of Europe, of combining to prevent by force of arms the adoption in other countries of political institutions which they disliked, and to uphold by external pressure those which they approved. Various portions of South America had recently declared their independence, and that independence had not been recognized by the governments of Spain and Portugal, to which, with small exception, the whole of Central and South America were originally subject. It was not an imaginary danger that he foresaw, if he feared that the same spirit which had dictated the French expedition into Spain might inspire the more powerful governments of Europe with the idea of imposing, by force of European arms, upon the South American communities, the form of government and the political connection which they had thrown off. In declaring that the United States would resist any such enterprise, if it was contemplated, President Monroe adopted a policy which received the entire sympathy of the English government of that date.

Not Relevant at This Time.

The dangers which were apprehended by President Monroe have no relation to the state of things in which we live at the present day. There is no danger of any holy alliance imposing its system upon any portion of the American continent, and there is no danger of any European state treating any part of the American continent as a fit object for European colonization. It is intelligible that Mr. Olney should invoke, in defense of the views on which he is now insisting, an authority which enjoys so high a popularity with his own fellow countrymen. But the circumstances with which President Monroe was dealing and those to which the present American government is addressing itself have very few features in common.

Great Britain is imposing no "system" upon Venezuela, and is not concerning herself in any way with the nature of the political institutions under which the Venezuelans may prefer to live. But the British Empire and the Republic of Venezuela are neighbors, and they have differed for some time past and continue to differ as to the line by which their domains are separated. It is a controversy with which the United States has no apparent practical concern. It is difficult, indeed, to see how it can materially affect any state or community outside those primarily interested, except, perhaps, other parts of her majesty's dominions, such as Trinidad.

The disputed frontier of Venezuela has nothing to do with any of the questions dealt with by President Monroe. It is not a question of the colonization by a European power of any portion of America. It is not a question of imposition upon a community of South America of any system of government devised in Europe. It is simply the determination of the frontier of a British possession, which belonged to the throne of England long before the Republic of Venezuela came into existence.

Merits of the Dispute.

It is often the theory of Venezuelans, so far as it goes, that if the United States were to give the latter a hearing in this controversy, their government at all events would not be forced and certainly do not express any opinion upon the actual merits of the dispute. The government of the

United States do not say that Great Britain or that Venezuela is in the right in the matters that are in issue. But they lay down that the doctrine of President Monroe, when he opposed the imposition of European systems or the renewal of European colonization, confers upon them the right of demanding that when a European power has a frontier difference with a South American community the European power shall consent to refer that controversy to arbitration, and Mr. Olney states that unless her majesty's government

accedes to this demand it will "greatly embarrass the future relations between Great Britain and the United States."

Whatever may be the authority of the doctrine laid down by President Monroe, there is nothing in his language to show that he ever thought of claiming this novel prerogative for the United States. It is admitted that he did not seek to assert a protectorate over Mexico or the states of Central and South America. Such a claim would have imposed upon the United States the duty of answering for the conduct of these states and consequently the responsibility of controlling them. His sagacious foresight would have led him energetically to deprecate the addition of so serious a burden to those which the rulers of the United States have to bear.

It follows, of necessity, that if the government of the United States will not control the conduct of these communities neither can it undertake to protect them from the consequences attaching to any misconduct of which they may be guilty toward other nations. If they violate in any way the rights of another state or of its subjects, it is not alleged that the Monroe doctrine will assure them the assistance of the United States in escaping from any reparation which they may be bound by international law to give. Mr. Olney expressly disclaims such an inference from the principles he laid down.

Claim of Mr. Olney.

But the claim which he founds upon them is that if any independent American state advances a demand for territory of which its neighbor claims to be the owner, and that neighbor is the colony of a European state, the United States have a right to insist that the European state shall submit the demand and its own inquired rights to arbitration.

I will not now enter into a discussion of the merits of this method of terminating international differences. It has proved itself valuable in many cases, but it is not free from defects which often operate as a serious drawback on its value. It is not always easy to find an arbitrator who is competent and who, at the same time, is wholly free from bias, and the task of insuring compliance with the award when it is made is not exempt from difficulty. It is a mode of settlement of which the value varies much according to the nature of the controversy to which it is applied and the character of the litigants who appeal to it. Whether in any particular case it is a suitable method of procedure is generally a delicate and difficult question. The only parties who are competent to decide that question are the two parties whose rival contentions are in issue. The claims of a third nation, which is unaffected by the controversy, to impose this particular procedure on either of the two others cannot be reasonably justified and has no foundation in the law of nations.

In the remarks which I have made I have argued on the theory that the Monroe doctrine in itself is sound. I must not, however, be understood as expressing any acceptance of it on the part of her majesty's government. It must always be mentioned with respect, on account of the distinguished statesman to whom it is due and the great nation which has generally adopted it. But international law is founded on the general consent of nations, and no state has a right to compel another nation, however powerful, or competent to insert into the law of nations and law a novel principle which was never recognized before, and which has not since been accepted by the government of any other country.

Rights of the United States.

The United States have a right, like any other nation, to interfere in any controversy by which their own interests are affected, and they are the judge whether their interests are touched and in what measure they should be sustained. But their rights are in no way strengthened or extended by the fact that the controversy affects some territory which is called American. Mr. Olney declines the case of the recent Chilean war, in which the United States declined to join with France and England in an effort to bring hostilities to a close on account of the Monroe doctrine. The United States were entirely in their right in declining to join in an attempt at pacification if they thought fit, but Mr. Olney's principle, that "American questions are for American decision," even if it received any countenance from the language of President Monroe (which it does not), cannot be sustained by any reasoning drawn from the law of nations.

The government of the United States is not entitled to affirm as a universal proposition, with reference to a number of independent states, for whose conduct it assumes no responsibility, that its interests are necessarily concerned in whatever may befall those states, simply because they are situated in the western hemisphere. It may well be that the interests of the United States are affected by something that happens to Chile or to Peru, and that the circumstance may give them the right of interference, but such a contingency may equally happen in the case of China or Japan, and the right of interference is not more extensive or more assured in the one case than in the other.

Lacks Force of International Law.

Though the language of President Monroe is directed to the attainment of objects which most Englishmen would agree to be salutary, it is impossible to admit that they have been inscribed by any adequate authority in the code of international law, and the danger which such admission would involve is sufficiently exhibited, both by the strange development which the doctrine has received at Mr. Olney's hands and the arguments by which it is supported in the dispatch under reply. In defense of it he says: "That distance and 3,000 miles of intervening ocean make any permanent political union between a European and an American state unnatural and inexpedient will hardly be denied. But physical and geographical considerations are the least of the objections to such a union. Europe has a set of primary interests which are peculiar to herself; America is not interested in them and ought not to be vexed or complicated with them."

And again: "Thus far in our history we have been spared the burdens and evils of immense standing armies and all the other accessories of huge warlike establishments, and the exemption has highly contributed to our national greatness and wealth as well as to the happiness of every citizen. But with the powers of Europe permanently encamped on American soil the ideal conditions we have thus far enjoyed cannot be expected to continue."

The necessary meaning of these words is that the union between Great Britain and Canada, between Great Britain and Jamaica and Trinidad, between Great Britain and British Honduras or British Guiana, are "inexpedient and unnatural," President Monroe disclaims any such inference from his doctrine, but in this, as in other respects, Mr. Olney develops it. He lays down the inexpedient and unnatural character of a union between a European and American state is so obvious that it "will hardly be denied."

Enters Emphatic Denial.

Her Majesty's government are prepared emphatically to deny it on behalf of both the British and American people who are subject to her crown. They maintain that the union between Great Britain and her territories in the western hemisphere is both natural and expedient. They fully concur with the view which President Monroe's statement implied, that any disturbance of the existing territorial distribution in that hemisphere by any free acquisition on the part of any European state would be a highly inexpedient change. But they are not prepared to admit that

the recognition of that expediency is clothed with the sanction which belongs to a doctrine of international law. They are not prepared to admit that the interests of the United States are necessarily concerned in every frontier dispute which may arise between any two of the states who possess dominion in the western hemisphere and still less can they accept the doctrine that the United States are entitled to claim that the process of arbitration shall be applied to any demand for the surrender of territory which one of those states may make against another.

I have commented in the above remarks only upon the general aspect of Mr. Olney's doctrine, apart from the special considerations which attach to the controversy between the United Kingdom and Venezuela in its present phase. This controversy has undoubtedly been more difficult by the inconsiderate action of the Venezuelan government in breaking off relations with her majesty's government and its settlement has been correspondingly delayed, but her majesty's government have not surrendered the hope that it will be adjusted by a reasonable arrangement at an early date.

I request that you will read the substance of the above dispatch to Mr. Olney, and leave him a copy if he desires it.

Merits of the British Claim.

The correspondence closes with another note from Lord Salisbury to Sir Julian Pauncefote, intended for delivery to Secretary Olney, of the same date as his preceding note, from which it was probably separated because it deals entirely with the merits of the British claims to the territory in dispute. Lord Salisbury explains that his purpose is to remove this apprehension, which he can most conveniently accomplish in this way, being prevented from addressing the Venezuelan government itself in consequence of a suspension of diplomatic relations. Lord Salisbury begins with the statement that "her majesty's government, while they have never avoided or declined argument on the subject with the government of Venezuela, have always held that the question was one which had no direct bearing on the material interests of any other country, and have consequently refrained hitherto from presenting any detailed statement of their case, either to the United States or to other foreign governments." Probably from this reason, says Lord Salisbury, Mr. Olney's statement bears the impress of being mainly, if not entirely, founded on ex parte Venezuelan statements, and gives an erroneous view of many of the material facts. He challenges Secretary Olney's first statement that the dispute dates back to 1811, and asserts that it did not begin until 1840, which assertion he proceeds to support by a long statement of the conditions under which British Guiana was acquired from the Dutch, the friendly relations that had existed for a long time between the United States of Colombia first, and afterward Venezuela, with Great Britain, and with reference to the early decrees of the Spanish government.

Lays Blame on Venezuela.

He asserts that the recent difficulty would never have arisen if Venezuela had been content to claim only those territories which could be proved or even reasonably asserted to have been quietly in the possession of a captaincy general of Venezuela. He attacks the Spanish title to the lands as vague and ill-founded, and contends that to the validity of the Dutch title under which Great Britain now claims there exists the most authentic declarations. As far back as 1791 Holland protested against Spanish incursions into settlements in the land of the Guianas, and to this claim the Spanish government never attempted to reply, the archives showing that they had not the means to do so but that

Salisbury says:

The fundamental principle underlying the Venezuelan argument is that inasmuch as Spain was originally entitled to right to the whole American continent, any territory on that continent which she cannot be shown to have acknowledged in specific and positive terms to have passed to another power can only have been acquired by wrongful usurpation, and if situated to the north of the Amazon and west of the Atlantic, must necessarily belong to Venezuela, as her self-constituted inheritor in those regions. It may reasonably be asked whether Mr. Olney would consent to refer to the arbitration of another power pretensions raised by the government of Mexico on such a foundation to large tracts of territory which had long been comprised in the federation.

Questions as to Boundary.

Lord Salisbury then proceeds to state the circumstances connected with the marking of the Schomburg line. He says that the British government notified Venezuela in 1839 of its intention provisionally to survey this boundary, its purpose being after the survey to communicate to other governments its views as to the true boundary of the British frontier, and then settle any details to which those governments might object. At the very outset he placed two boundary posts at Point Barima, on the remains of the Dutch fort, and while the posts there and at the mouth of the Amacura were removed at the urgent entreaty of Venezuela the concession was made on the distinct understanding that Great Britain did not thereby abandon her claim to that position. Schomburg held that Great Britain might justly claim the whole basin of the Cuyuni and Uruari, but suggested that claims to this region be surrendered in return for the recognition of the right to Point Barima. The Schomburg line, says Lord Salisbury, was, in fact, a great reduction of the boundary claimed by Great Britain as a matter of right, and its proposal originated in a desire to come to a speedy and friendly arrangement with a weaker power.

The note next gives in great detail a statement of the main facts of the discussions which have ensued with the Venezuelan government. Of Lord Aberdeen's proposal, which made great concessions out of friendly regard for Venezuela, Lord Salisbury says, it remained unanswered for more than six years, wherefore the Venezuelan government was notified that it had lapsed. Lord Granville's proposal in 1881, also involving considerable reductions from the Schomburg line, was, he says, likewise never answered.

Lord Salisbury charges that Venezuela has repeatedly violated the "treaty of 1881" by the terms of which both governments agreed to refrain from aggression upon the territory in dispute, for which reason in 1880 her majesty's government decided not to repeat the offer of concessions which had not been reciprocated, but to assert her unimpaired rights to the territory within the Schomburg line, while still holding open for negotiation and arbitration the unsettled territory beyond that, and within what they considered to be their right frontier.

Brings in the Alaskan Question.

Referring to General Blaine's declaration to arbitrate the title to these unsettled lands alone and his reluctance on full arbitration, Lord Salisbury says:

This pretension is hardly less exorbitant than would be a refusal by Great Britain of an arbitration of the boundary of British Columbia and Alaska unless the United States would consent to bring into question half of the whole area of that territory.

Lord Salisbury rapidly traces the history of the following negotiations, down to 1887, when the situation had become so acute, owing to the Venezuelan demands for an evacuation of the disputed territory by Great Britain, that the British representative at Caracas received his passports and diplomatic relations were declared by Venezuela to be suspended. He says that no steps have been taken by the British authorities to exercise jurisdiction beyond the Schomburg line, nor to interfere with the proceedings of the Venezuelans in the territory outside, although, pending a settlement, Great Britain cannot recognize these holdings as valid or conferring title. The question, he adds, has remained in this position ever since. Great Britain has from the first held to the same view as to the extent of her territory, waiving a portion of its claims, however, and being willing to arbitrate another portion, but as regards the rest, within the Schomburg line, they do not consider that the rights of Great Britain are open to question. If the concessions which Great Britain has been willing to make from time to time have been diminished, it has been because she is unwilling to surrender to foreign rule control over her subjects who have gradually colonized the country. The discrepancy in maps, as accounted for by the British government, cannot be made responsible for publications made without their authority.

Does Not Despair of Settlement.

In conclusion, he says:

Although the negotiations in 1880, 1881, and 1893 did not lead to any result, her majesty's government have not abandoned the hope that they may be resumed with better success, and that when the internal politics of Venezuela are settled on a more durable basis than has lately appeared to be the case her majesty's government may be enabled to adopt a more moderate and conciliatory course in regard to this question than that of their predecessors. Her majesty's government are sincere in their desire to be on friendly relations with Venezuela and certainly have no desire to seize territory that properly belongs to her, or to arrogate to extend sovereignty over any portion of her population. They have, on the contrary, repeatedly expressed their readiness to submit to arbitration the conflicting claims of Great Britain and Venezuela to large tracts of territory which from their artificial nature are known to be of almost no value, but they cannot consent to entertain or to submit to the arbitration of another power or of foreign jurists, however eminent, claims based on the extravagant pretensions of Spanish officials in the 18th century and involving the transfer of large numbers of British subjects who have for many years enjoyed the settled rule of a British colony, to a nation of different race and language, who, in addition, is subject to frequent disturbances and whose institutions are often financially inadequate provision to life and property. No issue of this description has ever been involved in the questions which Great Britain and the United States have consented to submit to arbitration, and her majesty's government are confident that in similar circumstances the government of the United States would be equally firm in declining to entertain a partial arbitration.

MESSAGE CREATES A SENSATION.

It Causes War Songs to Be Sung—Views of Prominent Men.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17.—The message of President Cleveland created a real sensation in Washington to-day. On the streets the message was discussed, and veterans of the late war talked exultantly of what they were prepared again to undertake at the call of their country. In the great hall of the Pension Building the employes gathered and sang with gusto "The Star-Spangled Banner" and "My Country, 'Tis of Thee."

At the White House messages poured in from every quarter of the country congratulating the President upon his message. They came from men of all parties and of every station. The matter, of course, was of the greatest interest in diplomatic circles, and the general impression on a sober, second consideration of the notes was that the matter has not yet reached a stage where war is imminent, and that the hint of Great

Britain's purpose to reopen negotiations with Venezuela looking to settlement of the dispute between themselves, perhaps may be regarded as the indication of how the whole matter will end.

Minister Andrade, of Venezuela, secured a copy of the message early in the day and cabled it by way of Cuba and Hayti to his government. The time of transmission is eight hours, and it is felt that its reception at Caracas will be the signal for an enthusiastic demonstration. Mr. Andrade's satisfaction was almost beyond the power of expression: He said:

The message is superb. It is even a surprise to me in its vigor in the nobility of the sentiments expressed and in the masterly exposition of the Monroe doctrine. There can be no doubt or misapprehension of its meaning. In my country it cannot but arouse the keenest appreciation on the part of the government and the people for this powerful expression of friendship from a strong country in behalf of a comparatively weak one.

Mr. Andrade was asked what the next step of Venezuela would be.

There is nothing further for us to do. We have announced our policy, and in that we have the cooperation and support of the United States. We are little more than spectators now.

Is the plan of a commission to investigate the question and fix the line feasible?" the minister was asked.

"Perfectly so," he replied. "The evidence can be furnished, so far as Venezuela is concerned. It will be a laborious work, as the documents and maps are very voluminous, and from many sources, including those of Holland, Spain and other countries, as well as those of Venezuela."

At the British embassy Sir Julian Pauncefote and his extensive official corps shared in the general interest in the question. It was stated that the foreign office made public at ten to-day the Salisbury answer, simultaneously with its publication here. But as the President's message is to congress, and has not passed through diplomatic channels, it was not a part of the matter given to the British public by the foreign office to-day. This prevents the armistice of each country interesting itself with the phase of the question not acceptable to itself, London laying its stress on the Salisbury letter, and the United States naturally being concerned mainly with the President's message.

Americans Must Stand Together.

Captain A. Hitt, representative from Illinois, will be chairman of the foreign relations committee, which will consider the President's message, said

"This is a question on which all Americans will have to stand together. The President will have to be supported. There is no other course open to true Americans. His suggestion that a commission be named to investigate this dispute will be followed by congress, but it will delay final settlement of the matter very. This is no time to show differences in American sentiment. We have just had an example in England of that. We cannot afford to give foreign nations a cause for the belief that there is any division of opinion or any inclination in this country to dispute the President's position. That part of the message which states that any adjustment of the boundaries which Venezuela may enter into of her own free will cannot be objected to by the United States will not be popular. The Monroe doctrine is a United States doctrine, and if Venezuela consented to an adjustment that will result in an extension of British domain it would be a violation of the doctrine. The President need not have asked for a commission to investigate this question, he has a commission, a perpetual commission, for such purposes. I refer to the secretary of state and the ambassadors and ministers. Why could not they investigate this dispute as well as the special commission? The President is the executive of the nation, and he has authority to make this investigation without the aid of congress. But that's a small matter. Congress will supply what the President asks and stand by him, and so will the American people."

Boutelle Calls It a Bluff.

Opinions of other congressmen are:

Congressman Boutelle (rep. Maine).—The message is a bluff. There's no occasion yet for warlike utterances over this dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela.

Congressman Curtis (rep. Kan.).—It is the greatest thing Grover Cleveland has ever written. It will do more to advance him in the good opinion of the American people than anything he has ever said or done. It sounds as if it came from a republican. The deck hunt was a good thing for this country if it gave the President time to think out such a policy.

Congressman Cooke (rep. Ill.).—This was a great day in American history and in the American congress. Mr. Cleveland said the right thing, we are all ready to admit that, and we are all willing to stand by him.

Gorman Says It's Warlike.

Some of the senators also desired to talk on the message. Here are the expressions they used:

Senator Gorman, (dem.).—It is a warlike document; a very religious statement of course, much depends upon what the commission, which we are to send to Venezuela, shall report.

Senator Davis, republican member of the committee on foreign relations—I think the President has risen to an opportunity such as has not been presented to any president in many years. In language of great dignity, power, and accuracy he has stated the Monroe doctrine as understood by the American people for seventy years.

Senator Teller, (rep.).—The concluding words have an American ring.

CLEVELAND, Dec. 17.—The message of

President Cleveland on the proper enforcement of the Monroe doctrine was received with many approbations of approval by the people of this city to-day, irrespective of party affiliations. At a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce this evening the following resolution was adopted and a copy telegraphed to President Cleveland:

Resolved, That this body commands and heartily endorses the position taken by President Cleveland in his message of this date sent to congress upholding and sustaining the so-called Monroe doctrine.

The morning papers will contain interviews with scores of prominent persons indorsing the patriotic attitude taken by the President and his secretary of state. Among them by a curious coincidence, are sons of both ex-President Hayes and ex-President Garfield, who commend President Cleveland's action.

STIRS THE AMERICAN SPIRIT.

Opinions in Chicago Uphold the President's Venezuelan Message.

The President's Venezuelan message was the one topic of conversation on the streets, in clubs and in the cars yesterday evening and the general tone of opinion seemed to be a mental hand-clapping of Mr. Cleveland's defense of arbitration and the Monroe doctrine. Indeed, as one man remarked, the reading of the message made the American heart beat a clip faster. Following are some opinions on the message:

Robert T. Lincoln—As congress now has the matter in hand we may see in the near future some action toward the settlement of the boundary question in Venezuela. I think it was in 1891, while I was minister to England, that this government asked me to act as intermediary in a boundary line dispute between England and Venezuela (not the dispute now spoken of). Dr. Pulido came from Venezuela as commissioner and I acted as intermediary as instructed, holding many audiences with the Marquis of Salisbury. The latter offered to arbitrate the question at that time, but the Venezuelan emissary declined to accept any settlement other than a fixed line marked on his official charts. This broke off diplomatic relations and ended my position in the matter. Dr. Pulido returned to Caracas, the Venezuelan minister to Great Britain was recalled and England did likewise. While that ended negotiations, England lost no time in reaching out for more extensive boundary lines. The boundary upon which I was asked to assist in making settlement is far to the east of this present alleged encroachment. In this section are said to be located gold mines of great richness, so that an extensive field is offered to British enterprise. England's policy is always to reach out and secure choice territory wherever abundant, and in this case it is not to be wondered at that a great mining district should be the object of a determined effort. The British must have gained a firm hold in British Guiana. At the mouth of the Orinoco River they maintain large fortifications. These points of possession form an interesting spectacle. I believe in the Monroe doctrine in connection with the Venezuelan troubles, and this government is prepared to enforce it.

Samuel P. McConnell—Apart from the application of the Monroe doctrine I fully agree with the government line urged by the President. I am really in favor of the principle of arbitration in international matters, but so much in favor of a peaceful solution of disputes between nations that I am willing to wage war against any power refusing to accede to a scheme which would abolish war. Particularly in this case I think our nation should make a lead of it. The most powerful and influential nation in the world refuses to submit to arbitration a dispute regarding a boundary line with a small republic in South America. The refusal, if persisted in, is first a blot upon our acquisition in by us, will retard the advancement and adjustment of arbitration for many years. It is shameful in the part of Great Britain, and I am glad our nation can take strong ground against her in a good cause.

[illegible]

policy and sentiment may be. It seems to me there may be some rights the British claim in this Venezuelan controversy entitled to consideration before we go to war. The President's message reads, though I have not thoroughly digested it, like a war proclamation, and aside from every other consideration Grover Cleveland is our President, and he will be supported in his Americanism, in this instance, by every member of congress, no matter whether he is republican or democrat, and, on the whole, I think Mr. Cleveland's special message a good one, and well worthy of American approval.

GOVERNORS EXPRESS OPINIONS.

Altgeld Says the Message Shows an Incompetent State Department.

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Dec. 17.—Governor Altgeld to-night had the following to say on President Cleveland's Venezuelan message, sent to congress:

Behind the ponderous pretense of this message several remarkable things are conspicuous which will give comfort and much satisfaction to the English. First, when carefully analyzed, this message is found to be a loud cry to congress to help the administration let go of a tiger's tail. And it shows clearly that the administration is looking around for a hole in the fence to creep through in order to get out of the field in which it has been doing some grunting and a little rooting. And it also shows that either we have the most incompetent state department this government ever had or else the department is willing to put itself into a ridiculous position in order to be able to gain time for us to shove everything over onto the next administration.

Look at the situation a moment. This Venezuelan boundary line question is old. Either our government knows what are the questions and facts involved, or else it does not know. If it does not know then it should have made no fuss about it. If there is any uncertain point connected with it, then the administration should have obtained the necessary information before it made any protest to the United States. On the other hand, if the administration does know what the facts are, then there could be no purpose on earth in having a commission except to get a chance to either creep out or gain time.

Now, suppose a commission is appointed, and it goes through the force of an investigation, and then reports that the facts are in favor of England, and that we might never have interfered and have no ground for protesting, how will we then look in the sight of the other nations? On the other hand, if the commission should not be willing to make such a report, then it will be easy to carry things along until after the end of this administration, for it is easy to put in a great deal of time in examining boundary line questions. And you notice the President asks that he be permitted to name this commission. Of course he will name friends of his, and they will not report until he asks them to. You are, therefore, safe in saying that if this commission is appointed there will be no interruption of these British influences which have been so potent with the present Federal administration, and poor Venezuela will be, like Cuba—they will find that the head of the American Republic is so engrossed with great and mighty things that he can take no notice of them.

Governor Morrill, of Kansas.

TOPEKA, Kan., Dec. 17.—When asked what he thought of President Cleveland's message Governor Merrill said to-night:

All Americans who are Americans in patriot-
ism will endorse the message. It is bold, cour-
ageous and timely. It is what the people were
looking for, and if England insists upon war they
will respond as one man to the President's call.

for troops, and in that event Kansas may be depended upon to furnish her full quota.

Governor O'Ferrall, of Virginia.

RICHMOND, Va., Dec. 17.—Governor O'Ferrall, when asked to-night for an expression of opinion on the President's message, said:

I have just read the message. It is strong, pointed and direct, and cannot leave a doubt as to his position. It is characteristic of the man, courageous and truly American. There will be no retreat on his part. It remains to be seen what congress will do. The Monroe doctrine is the very wool and web of the policy upon the maintenance of which depends our safety against European aggrandizement and the greed and avarice of European powers. I have had no opportunity since reading the message to catch the drift of sentiment in Virginia, or even here at the capital of the southern confederacy, but I feel that I am warranted in saying that, while the Virginia people know what war means, and would greatly deprecate a resort to arms, they are for the maintenance of the doctrine proclaimed by Virginia's distinguished son. Further, that as England has declined to submit the question in dispute to arbitration, they will stand heroically and patriotically by their country in maintaining her honor, defending her rights and sustaining her policy.

Governor Matthews, of Indiana.

INDIANAPOLIS, Dec. 17.—Governor Matthews said:

The President's message has the ring of true American metal and he will find a hearty response from all classes of people. The Monroe doctrine has been ably asserted and the people of Indiana, regardless of political affiliations, will cordially support the executive in any measure to which the defense of the doctrine may lead. The time has come to assert our position with firmness and the President has proved himself fully equal to the emergency.

The governor does not believe that war is likely to result, but thinks that England, when she finds that the United States will maintain its contention at any cost, will gracefully retire from her position and consent to arbitrate.

PRESS OPINIONS OF THE MESSAGE.

Newspapers of the Country Stand for the Monroe Doctrine.

Following are some of the expressions of the newspapers of the country upon the meaning of the President's message and the re-affirmation of the Monroe doctrine:

St. Louis.

Repub.—President Cleveland's message to congress transmitting the correspondence between the state department and the British ministry concerning the question of disputed boundary, is the most able assertion possible of the spirit of the Monroe doctrine. It is but a few days since the President, in the discussion of this question and in the use of the language of the Monroe message, declared that the doctrine was originally intended as much for the protection of the United States as of any other American power. The message admits of no other interpretation. The policy of Europe then threatening the integrity of the Spanish American empire, were justified in their demand that we should either attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere, or else to secure our peace and safety by the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine as essentially an expression of the natural law of self-protection. President Cleveland's message is not ambiguous, it is American.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch.—President Cleveland's message to congress is a ringing appeal to the people of the United States. It is an echo of his predecessors John Adams and Andrew Jackson. It is a declaration of the honor and the credit of the United States, which were endangered by foreign aggression. The Monroe doctrine is to remain a vital principle of American diplomacy this is the time to stand by it. England refuses to arbitrate the ques-

tion of title to territory east of the Schomburg line, a boundary put up without Venezuela's consent and which she never recognized. This is the sort of an assault by a European power on an independent nation on this continent which President Monroe declared would be "dangerous to our peace and safety." As this assault is persisted in despite the protest of the President, congress has a right to look upon it as a "manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States" and should act in accordance with this fact.

New York.

The Sun.—War is not expected, despite the fact that no jingo has overstepped the mark now toed by Grover Cleveland. If the eccentric statesman and instinctive antagonist of the more vital American sentiments who now occupies the White House had dealt with the Venezuela affair from the beginning in the creditable spirit shown in his message of yesterday it is a question whether the situation would not now be satisfactory and without danger of war. * * * Mr. Cleveland has borrowed a new uniform, but all the same it is the American uniform, and the country will follow the man who wears it. For the Monroe doctrine, as enunciated in the President's message, except for a line or two that we need not consider here, the people of the United States are solid and enthusiastic. And the continuation of this interesting business by the administration will be watched and sustained with an unflinching spirit of pride and determination to uphold the interests of the United States. Let the good work go on.

Atlanta.

The Constitution.—There will be no disposition in this section, at least, to criticize or object to the tone and spirit of Mr. Cleveland's message with which he accompanies the correspondence between this country and Great Britain in regard to the Venezuelan matter. It will doubtless prove offensive to the Tories, whose commercial instincts have abolished all patriotic impulses from their mind, but the great body of the people will enthusiastically approve the firm stand Mr. Cleveland has taken. The message is very strong throughout, and from first to last breathes the genuine American spirit. It strikes a note of patriotism that is not often heard in high places during these latter days, and for that reason it will fall on the ears of the people with a welcome sound. To that every true American will say amen.

IRISHMEN OFFER THEIR ARMY.

More Than Willing to Get Into a Howl With England.

NEW YORK, Dec. 17.—The following manifesto has been issued by the executive council of the Irish National Alliance of America, and a copy of it has been sent to President Cleveland:

To the Members of the Irish National Alliance and the American Public:—It has been publicly charged that the policy of the Irish National Alliance is an Irish policy of hatred to England, and is therefore contrary to the interests of America. This calls in question the loyalty to the republic of our people. We declare that no more bitter, more perfidious or more unrelenting enemy than Great Britain to the United States has ever existed. England has ever been the vengeful foe of American liberty and republican institutions.

Insued with this conviction and feeling that Great Britain has avowed her intention to trample upon the Monroe doctrine by her attempt to rob Venezuela of her territory and has dared to violate the integrity of our territory in Alaska, we hereby offer, as a proof of our loyalty and devotion to the country of which we are citizens, to place at the disposal of the President of the United States within a delay 100,000 soldiers as brave as have ever shouldered a rifle and every man of whom is a believer in the principles and teachings of the Irish National Alliance.

Our army, which is now organized, is ready to serve the American Republic in any part of this continent and should the enforcement of the Monroe doctrine need its aid, will either on Irish soil or on English ground, establish the fact that the

157

intensity, the valor, and the determination of the Irish brigade will again prove the loyalty of Irishmen to the United States.

Whether the nation which dares to interfere with American principles of liberty be England or any other foreign power we care not. The men whose faith is that of the Irish National Alliance stand ready to fight at any moment for the honor and for the rights of the country of our adoption. This is the loyalty our members bear to the United States. We have proved it on many a hard fought field whether the enemies of the republic were Englishmen, Tories or rebels.

As to our relations with England, we have no apologies to make, no excuses to offer. Should it be possible to embroil her with any power on earth we shall not hesitate to do so. The chief object of the Irish National Alliance is to create the opportunity which will enable us to drive the British enemy from Ireland as it was driven from the United States. England's cruelty, oppression and usurpation of the rights of American citizens hastened her utter defeat in America. We pray that the day may soon come when we the exiles of our own land shall assist in driving the foe to whom we bear undying hatred from Ireland. We remain,

WILLIAM LYMAN, President, New York.

JOHN P. SUTTON, Secretary, New York.

P. V. FITZPATRICK, Treasurer, Chicago.

DISPOSITION OF THE BRITISH FLEET.

No Important Changes Affecting Ships in West Indian Waters.

[COPYRIGHTED, 1885, BY I. G. BENNETT.]

LONDON, Dec. 17.—Notwithstanding the reports concerning the movement of the West Indian squadron, which seemed to hold out a menace to Venezuela, it is learned on inquiry at the admiralty that this has been no important changes in the ordinary disposition of the ships of that fleet. According to present information which was contained in letters received from the commander-in-chief up to Nov. 24, the various ships of the North America and West Indies squadrons are or will within the next week or two, disposed as follows:

The Crescent, flag ship, and the Magicienne, now at Bermuda, will leave on Jan. 2 for a winter cruise.

The Pelica is at Bermuda refitting for reconmissioning.

The Buzzard, now at Bermuda, will leave on Dec. 7 for the Barbadoes division, to rejoin the flag at Antigua on Jan. 2.

The Rambler, now at Bermuda, surveying, will leave early in December for Demerara.

The Tartar left Nassau on Nov. 24 for Bermuda and arrived at Bermuda Nov. 26.

The Tourmaline is at Jamaica for general service in the division.

The Mohawk is at Belize and remains there for the present.

The Partridge is at the Bahamas to prevent filibustering expeditions to Cuba.

The Canada is in the Barbadoes division.

The senior officer is to rejoin the flag at Antigua in January.

Letters from the senior naval officer of the Jamaica division up to Nov. 26, state that the Tourmaline, now at Port Royal, will proceed to cruise on the north side of the island. The Mohawk, now at Belize, British Honduras, remains there for the present, and the Tartar proceeded to Bermuda on Nov. 26. These movements, of course, may be altered at any moment by instructions from the admiralty, but information is to the effect that no countermanning orders of any kind whatever have thus far been issued.

CRITICISM OF LONDON EDITORS.

How the Molders of British Opinion View the Message.

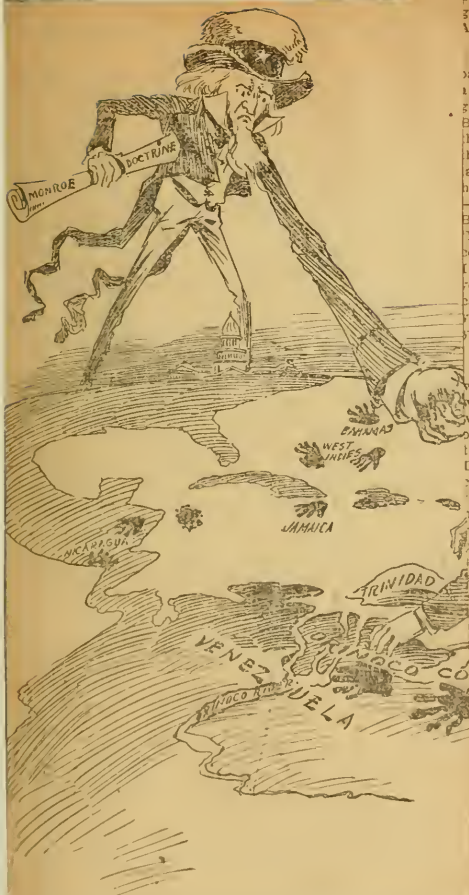
LONDON, Dec. 17.—All of the morning papers to-morrow will devote more or less of their editorial space to a discussion of President Cleveland's message on the Venezuelan question and to the merits of that question itself.

The Daily Telegraph (liberal) contends that America has no concern in the Venezuelan dispute. The editorial goes on to say:

In truth, this invocation of the Monroe doctrine seems, on this side of the water, to be irrelevant, because there is no question of territorial greed or the imposition of a European system. It is absurd because a statement of an American policy can hardly claim to attain the rank of a principle of international law. By what right does the Washington government demand the arbitration of this matter when the very theory which guides their interference has absolutely nothing to do with the points in dispute? What nation has ever agreed to the Monroe doctrine? How often has the Washington government itself ventured to advance it? We say nothing of the process of twisting the lion's tail, generally resorted to at times of electoral excitement. Yet if it be true that all this zealous support of Venezuela originated in partisan intrigues there is still less reason why we should submit to what, from the British standpoint, is a wholly perverse and inadmissible claim.



STOPPED!



"...ahead of me, exclaimed. 'Giant, they ain't rebels; them's And they were.'"

"Poor Dumont had to suffer when he got back to the reserve. All of the boys were at him for getting white over a drove of gray calves. One of the boys, whom I call Big Charley, tormented him until he ran out of the company street for hours. I was here when I went out to call the roll the next time before 'lights out' was blown. Dumont had been crying, poor boy. That's a country boy; a country boy. He told me that Big Charley had nagged him almost to death. 'You go to your tent and tell Big Charley to come here.' When the big woodsman came, I said: 'You are driving Dumont crazy with your nagging. Stop it or I'll report you to the captain. When the fighting begins you are as brave a man as the fattest of us. You have been tormenting.'

"When McClellan's army of the Potomac was slowly moving through Maryland on its way to South Mountain and Antietam, the boys waked up half a dozen times each night. 'One thing or another, chiefly to keep them from then didn't move, we all got pretty hungry. Dumont had a boy's appetite, and, to keep him from getting them, carried rations on his back. Two or three men. He got them from the commissary. Rations, knapsack, gun, and a couple of pounds of ammunition made him a heavy load before night. No one in the company would say a word for some time. All of a sudden, Dumont was sawing wood, as it were. Finally the voice of Dumont was heard:

"'Orderly, this calf-hunting is taking away my life.'

"The remark was as good as a 'doodle' by the band; it set the boys laughing and chatting; their touring was as hard the next hour.

"'Goodness alive, captain; have you seen that limb that mountain before we get to the Georgians, among whom was a H. Colquitt, later a senator, one of the laughers married Major W. L. Marshall. This ago.

"There goes Big Charley, sent for. He held up his right hand, wrapped in a handkerchief. 'Give as you order,' but he wasn't. After the fight he was brought into camp. The fighting men had a whole lot to say for Big Charley.

"THE UNITED STATES IS TO DAY PRACTICALLY
LAW."—MR. OLNEY

140

VON HOLST TO ANSWER OLNEY.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, Dec. 25.—To the Editor: Secretary Olney has done me a great and most unexpected honor by noticing in the way he has done what I have said in regard to the present controversy between the United States and Great Britain. We are at issue on two questions, which are wholly distinct and ought to be kept strictly apart, but are constantly confounded, to the great detriment of all the parties concerned.

1. What ought the United States to do in the present emergency? This is purely a question of policy as to which people might well differ. To make the decision dependent on the Monroe doctrine would be arrant folly. The views entertained by the government and the people of the United States seventy-two years ago cannot be binding upon us either way. We have to shape our own course upon the basis of all the pertinent facts of to-day. In due time I shall meet the secretary of state on this ground as well as I can. Even if reasons of a strictly personal character did not render it impossible to do so at this moment, I should defer my answer for a little while from public considerations of expediency, which seem to me conclusive. Every day I become more firmly convinced that the people of the United States, with whom the decision rests, will ultimately come to see things in the main as they appear to me. I calmly and cheerfully bide my time, perfectly satisfied that their ultimate judgment will be in my favor.

2. What is the Monroe doctrine? This is not a question of opinion, but of fact. Not the statesman, but the student of history has to find the answer. Nor has the historian to act as judge. His office is merely to collect and present the historical facts, which are unalterable, whether they suit us or not. As to this question, I propose to take up the glove at once. It cannot be done too soon. I shall lay the documentary evidence before the public in THE TIMES-HERALD of Saturday next. To offer all the evidence is an impossibility, because it would fill a small volume. I must necessarily confine myself to literally transcribing that part of it which is most pertinent, as well as most authentic. I shall at this time absolutely refrain from adding any arguments. My purpose is to enable everybody to decide this question for himself. It is the solemn duty of every intelligent citizen to avail himself of the opportunity to do so, if it is offered to him. We cannot afford, even unwittingly, to fly a false flag in an issue of such tremendous import; our honor, as well as our interests, peremptorily forbid it.

11, VON HOLST.

during and accelerating the uninterrupted progress of this beneficent process. Fearful will be the responsibility of the American people to their own posterity and to humankind if they fail to fulfill this mission and prefer to infuse new life into notions, which Europe is learning to bemoan as a curse bequeathed to her by the follies and the crimes of the past. Let us beware. The idea of securing peace by preparing for war in the sense in which it is being preached now is essentially un-American and cannot with impunity be trifled with. For us the best way to provide against explosions is to have no more explosives in our premises than are strictly indispensable.

Pray, ye who are not conscious jingoists but merely more or less infected by the exclamation mark bacillus, do not make light of this, but ponder it well and soberly. Hysteria is not a harmless pastime but a disease, and even as a pastime a great nation ought to loath it as beneath its dignity and derogatory to its character.

H. von HOLST.

VON HOLST AND FREE SPEECH.

Taking exception to some off-hand and imperfectly reported utterances of Professor Von Holst, our esteemed contemporary, the Tribune, waxes indignant and rises to demand the professor's resignation from the faculty of the University of Chicago.

If the Tribune had waited to read the authorized interview with Professor Von Holst, published in this Journal yesterday, probably it would have refrained from making any such demand. In that interview the distinguished professor of constitutional history discusses in a masterly manner the principles of international law and the administration's policy involved in the present issue between Great Britain and the United States.

He shows that, while questioning, in common with many other recognized authorities, the applicability of the doctrine as heretofore laid down by American statesmen to the present contention, he is entirely in sympathy with the patriotic impulses and aspirations of his fellow citizens. We say fellow citizens because, contrary to allegations and insinuations that have been made in the public press, Professor Von Holst is a naturalized citizen of the United States, and he has given the highest proof of his admiration for and confidence in American institutions by making his home in the most American of cities.

Specifically, Professor Von Holst is "in favor of the Monroe doctrine as the "justified policy of the United States," but holds that the President is mistaken in maintaining that this doctrine is involved in a simple boundary question, and in insisting that an issue, in which we have the most minute interest, shall be settled "in a way to which no self-respecting nation ever will, ever can or ever ought to submit."

The case of the French attempt to set up an empire in Mexico is cited as a case legitimately appealing to us as a violation of the Monroe doctrine; but between that doctrine as heretofore declared and respected and the Cleveland-Olney doctrine now promulgated he makes a very broad distinction. The latter he repudiates because he believes that it is offered to us under a false name and is a policy not only ruinous to international law but ruinous eventually "to the true interests of the United States, of the American continent and of the whole civilized world."

We do not pretend to give with either fullness or accuracy the essence of Professor Von Holst's argument, but summarize it sufficiently to give the reader a fair idea of its drift. He may be wrong in general or in detail, and certainly The Times-Herald cannot indorse without reserve some of his incidental observations, but we submit that there is nothing in his views which is inconsistent with loyalty to American principles and traditions or that could place him under the ban of public reprobation and make him the subject of public denunciation.

It is not only the right, but the duty, of a man in Professor Von Holst's position to shed the light of his scholarship upon a question of such dignity and importance. Granting this, it is folly to argue that he shall not speak unless he is in perfect accord with self-erected standards. The right accorded President Harper, Professor Ludgill and Professor Judson is equally the right of Professor Von Holst.

Whether we agree with all of his utterances or not, Professor Von Holst has an assured position as an authority in constitutional history. The University of Chicago is fortunate in the command of his services, and it will be an evil day, indeed, when that great and growing institution of learning shall muzzle the members of its faculty in that exercise of absolute freedom of speech on public questions which is the birthright of every American citizen, native or naturalized.

142
THE CHICAGO TIMES-HERALD.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1895.

OUR DEFENSELESS LAKE CITIES.

The annual report of the general in chief of the army sounds a note of alarm as to the defenseless condition of our cities on the great lakes. Buffalo, Cleveland, Toledo, Chicago and Milwaukee, not to speak of the minor towns, are apparently at the mercy of any attacking force that might be brought to bear on them in case of a war with England.

Undoubtedly this is true enough supposing that we lay supinely by and suffered a hostile force to be collected without an attempt to prevent it, but inasmuch as we have the same opportunities not only for fortifying but for making aggressive attacks as the Canadians would have, there is very little reason for immediate alarm.

As at present constituted neither one side nor the other has any "ironclads" or offensive vessels of any kind that could do much damage against defenses that might be reared in a single night. The beginning of a war is not a matter of sudden temper, and long before any offensive operations could be set on foot our cities could be amply protected, even if they might be reached.

It is sometimes foolishly said that Great Britain could send a fleet into the lakes through the St. Lawrence and Welland Canal, but what would we be doing while such an attempt was being made? We could in a day erect fortifications on the banks of those waterways that would stop the most powerful fleet in the world.

But however that may be, General Miles is within the lines of duty in laying the situation before the government. Whether we are in any danger at present or not, it is worth while considering our rights and privileges on the lakes. If the Canadian authorities are secretly building ships that may be used for hostile purposes, in contravention of the arrangement of 1817, that fact should be and must be ascertained.

And another thing is equally true, and that is, that if the arrangement of 1817 is no longer to our advantage it should be annulled in accordance with its terms.

Whether that annulment ought to proceed from congress or from the executive is a question of some doubt. It was Charles Sumner's opinion that congress should take the initiative, and he favored the annulling resolution of 1865. Afterward, however, Secretary Seward chose to consider the arrangement as still binding, notwithstanding the action of congress, and the state department from that day to this has sustained Seward's action. If it is a matter for executive action, as this precedent would seem to indicate, President Cleveland should take steps without delay to protect American rights on the lakes. And to that end it would not be a bad thing to give the requisite six months' notice to Great Britain that we desire to withdraw from the arrangement, or treaty of 1817, respecting the naval forces on the lakes.





EASY WITH ENGLAND.

OUR FOREIGN POLICY BLAMED.

Prof. Keasby Discusses Two Antagonistic Diplomatic Instincts—Fear of Entanglement Prevents United States From Too Hasty Action.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 13.—The American Academy of Political and Social Science held an important meeting to-night in the drawing-room of the New Century Club. The fact that the United States foreign policy, as illustrated by its method in dealing with the Nicaraguan question, was to be handled by Professor L. M. Keasby, drew a large audience. The professor is one of the leading instructors of Bryn Mawr College, and has spent a great deal of time in Central America studying the canal question on the ground.

After his lecture Dr. Emory R. Johnson, of this city, and J. W. Miller, of New York, discussed the Nicaraguan problem. Professor Keasby's subject was "The Nicaragua Canal and the Monroe Doctrine," and he spoke as follows:

Lord Salisbury remarked the other day in reply to some criticism from the liberals, that he did not make up his foreign policy—he inherited it. Our secretaries of state are not so fortunate. They do not inherit policies. They have legacies of questions bequeathed to them. These questions too are for the most part encumbered with estopels of the past.

As for the American people, they decide diplomatic questions off hand, as they come up, by instinct. Or, I had better say, two antagonistic diplomatic instincts seem to pervade our public mind. On the one hand our Monroe doctrine im-

pels us to keep the hand of Europe—or more specifically the paw of the British lion—off the whole American continent. On the other hand, our dread of entangling foreign alliances has too often made us hesitate to act at crucial moments until the opportunity was lost.

Both Want the Same Thing.

Great Britain and the United States are indeed of the same race, and it is certainly true, that "blood is thicker than water." Not thicker than land, however, and it is about land that we are quarreling with England. In short, England and the United States both want the same thing, and among the best regulated families there is often apt to be trouble on this score.

There is another northwest boundary dispute brewing, but the real friction has arisen to the south of us in Spanish America. All questions thereabout have always centered about the control of the transit route across the isthmus, and along this line the issue is now drawn.

Let us then hold our diplomatic instincts in abeyance for a few moments and examine into the fact of the matter. Instinct only tells us what to strike. History tells us how to strike when the time comes. The case of John Bull versus Uncle Jonathan in the Nicaragua Canal is indeed a complicated one, but by an outline sketch of the course of the issue I hope to make it intelligible.

From the mouth of the San Juan, on the Atlantic, a natural waterway runs through Nicaragua to within a few miles of the Pacific. This is the canal path, on which England and the United States have always looked with favor, and for which they have so long struggled to effect. Nicaragua itself is furthermore divided longitudinally into two distinct geographic sections by the Cordillera range of mountains—that is, the Caribbean seaboard and the region of the great lakes.

Course of English Supremacy.

Professor Keasby then gave a history of the discovery of the Central American region, and told of the subsequent conquest by the Spaniards. He touched upon the chief events in the country's life. After the treaties that were laid before President Buchanan had been ratified, Professor Keasby said, the question of the political control of the isthmus did not come up again until De Lesseps began his great canal.

Professor Keasby then continued:

Great Britain's Marked Advance.

The course of English supremacy has been toward the east and the west. Her advance toward the east has met with but little serious opposition in Europe, and now she is secure in her route through the Suez Canal to her colonies in India, the Straits Settlements and Australia, while Hong Kong on the Pacific coast of Asia is also hers. Russia is England's great rival in the east, and with the present unsettled state of affairs in China, Japan and Korea her eastern supremacy is in an extremely precarious position.

Great Britain's advance toward the west was interrupted for the time but by no means cut short by the Independence of the United States. We failed to gain Canada in the early days, but still in 1823 we claimed all the rest of the continent for ourselves. England looked forward to a Pacific dominion, and planned accordingly in advance. She grumbled a bit, but, seeing plenty of unoccupied land before us, we rested content with our share to the south. England, with characteristic far-sightedness, began to work toward the Pacific in the south and to shut us out on either side. Honduras and Jamaica were hers, and thus the route to the West Indies and the islands themselves were under her control.

On the mainland British Guiana and British Honduras were secured, and only a contretemps prevented Nelson from reaching the Pacific through Nicaragua. Failing in this Great Britain beat the west coast of South America to her with the links of trade, commerce and money loans. This done, and the Hawaiian Islands—the half way house of the Pacific—became naturally an object of Great Britain's regard, and there the matter remains to-day.



PROF. LINDLEY MILLER KEASBY.



Grow Land Hungry.

And what were we doing all this time? Looking only to the immediate future and developing the land directly in front of us. We Americans, like the English, are a land hungry race, and crowded conditions do not suit us. Our democracy demands plenty of room. Aristotle said the best form of democracy was that of an agricultural people, living away from the towns, and we have always been convinced of the justice of the remark. As soon as we felt any pressure in the east we added more land to our west and thus provided our democratic institutions with an ever-ready safety valve.

In 1523 we were alive to the future and refused to make an exception of England in our demand for no further European interference. We had our own bone before us, however, and some we could take from weaker dogs near by, and so we let England pick up the rest lying around, which were of no present value to us. Now, as Professor Turner has told us, our frontier has disappeared. We are growing land-hungry again, and there is none to be had not also within reach of our rival's paw. We want Cuba to match Jamaica, we object to any addition to British Guiana, we are jealous of England's supremacy along the west coast of South America, and we too want the Hawaiian half-way house.

England Has Complications.

After we had reached the Pacific in '49 we thought the American desert impassable. We even bought camels for our future caravans, but this was not enough. We felt we must control the Isthmian route to our new lands, and all but succeeded in our demands. England held her ground, however, and again our immediate problem was solved by the construction of the transcontinental railways. We ceased to look ahead then, and England, too, has bided her time.

Commerce now demands the construction of the Inter-oceanic canal, and American commerce more than all. The American people agree, but insist that the route must be under our control. England says no, for she is already in control on either side, and has our word that she may share in the control of the transit way, too.

It is purely a question between England and the United States. It means the economic dependence or independence of the continent, as the revolutionary struggle concerned the political side of the subject. The question has long been deferred, as there has been land enough for both thus far. We are now about evenly matched in America, but we have no eastern question and England has. She has two young, vigorous nations to deal with in Russia and the United States. We have no cause of dispute with Russia, but we both have come into necessary antagonism with England.

If we admit the situation frankly, why not follow England's example and act as she did to France in regard to the Suez Canal? Let the Clayton-Bulwer treaty stand, but let us own the canal.

Have all the stock bought here, or, perhaps better, let us build and own the canal as a nation, and then let England exert her political control as best she may.

Professor Keasley's address was well received and appreciated.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1895.

REDUCING THE MONROE DOCTRINE TO WRITING.

In a letter to Gouverneur Morris, written from Philadelphia Dec. 30, 1792, Thomas Jefferson said: "The will of the nation is the only thing essential to be regarded."

Senator Lodge is of opinion that congress will enact the Monroe doctrine into a statute of the United States. Is it not possible that a more conservative view of the dignity of the doctrine may look upon this scheme as inexpedient?

If the required constitutional proportion of the American states were prepared in due legal form to amend the federal agreement so as to embody in the constitution itself a clear, comprehensive and concise definition and indorsement of the Monroe doctrine, it might be well to permit them to do so. Even then the question would not be inopportune whether or not that portion of the virtual constitution of the United States should not continue as it has been—unwritten.

Unwritten, but vital, it triumphed when applied to the restoration of republican form of government in Mexico and the extinction of foreign monarchical pretensions in that part of the American continent. Unwritten, but now recognized as material, it is about to triumph concerning forcible acquisition of territory by Great Britain in Venezuela. News comes from Washington to The Times-Herald that the British government will consent to arbitrate its claims in Venezuela down to the line pointed out from the beginning by the United States as the starting place—namely, the boundary existing between Dutch Guiana and Venezuela in 1803.

If the Monroe doctrine, existing in neither written constitution nor statute, has thus proved conclusive in the only two actual crises in which its application has been called for since its enunciation, why should it be withdrawn from the tranquil atmosphere in which it now exists, potent for its purpose, to be made a mere football between factions, groups, or possibly even parties in congress? If



Jefferson, Monroe and Madison failed to reduce to exact terms a doctrine whose substance they equally appreciated and approved is it likely that the statesmen of to-day will be more inspired, more succinct?

It may be well enough for the two houses of congress to adopt a joint resolution reaffirming the doctrine as closely as possible in the terms employed by Monroe in the famous message from which its name is derived. The most apt passage is the following: "The American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." It might be well to combine with this another sentence in the same message: "With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and we shall not interfere."

To attempt to go further than this would be to open the door to endless debate and to furnish to the enemies of this country material with which, perhaps, to scandalize the United States hereafter. The doctrine, as it is now embodied in the national will, is real, and for its purpose that embodiment is complete without a line of legislation. As Jefferson said: "The will of the nation is the only thing essential to be regarded." It is known to be the will of the nation that the doctrine shall be maintained.

It will be enough for congress to indicate that the national will is so to be regarded in order that the federal authority may know where the incoming congress will stand should a test arise. To do more than that would be folly.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1895.

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

One of the phrases used in the British reply to the present assertion of the Monroe doctrine is this: "It does not embody any principle of international law which is founded on the general consent of nations; no statesman, however eminent, no nation, however powerful, are (is) competent to insert into the code of international law a novel principle which was never recognized before and which has not since been accepted by the government of any other country."

Palmerston and Canning, even Castlereagh, might well be astonished at such a statement emanating from the imperial government of Great Britain. It is asserted, by implication, that international law is something which, like air and light, has existed from the beginning of the world; that during the passing ages its principles have undergone no change and that application of its principles, unchanged and unchangeable, has been uniform, consistent and universal. But unless all monuments of civilization lie, international law, instead of being cognate with organized society and stable as the laws of the Medes and the Persians, has been an evolution, grown out of the alteration of the world, as ideas and power have from time to time affected the progress of the human race; and power, it must in candor be said, has had much more to do with the evolution of international law than humanity itself, although humanity, in the higher sense, has not lacked potency in its making and its modifications.

Conspicuously is it true of international law that insertion of novel principles in its code has been its very blood; for otherwise it would have decayed from rottenness and organized society, of which it has been the faithful and therefore ever-changing reflection, would have relapsed long since into anarchy and barbarism.

International law has never been anything but the temporary agreement of nations, the tenure of its articles being dependent upon the power of nations to depart from them in their own interest and the opposing power of other nations



to maintain existing compacts. The vicissitudes of international law are but the epitome of the history of the modern world. As domestic legislatures and courts from time to time have altered statutory enactments and reversed judicial precedents, so nations, in dealing with one another, have been forced to abandon conventions torn into tatters by war or extinguished by the more suave advance of science and the broader light that has constantly expanded over the ever-widening areas of the globe penetrated by commerce.

Novel principles have been inserted from time to time; obsolete ones are found fossilized in the archaeology of the science of international law. The code, to borrow from another domain, has been both organic and inorganic. There is a basic structure descending into antiquity, chiefly abstract, but not admitted as infallible. There is a living and continuous descent showing at successive epochs the arrival of new principles and the infusion of new life gathered from fresh agreements, from discoveries, from the results of conflict and the survival of the fittest, in the sense of superior virility, either moral or immoral.

The most notorious maxim of international law is the "balance of power." To preserve it has been the first care of governments recognizing the code; and its fractures have been the chapter heads of further extension of pretensions, the admission of innovations, the inauguration of experiments, the admission of novel principles by statesmen and nations. The map of the world to-day presents slight resemblance to that of the world when the fathers of international law—Spaniards, Dutchmen, the Swiss and the French—were codifying and annotating it for jurists, consultants, publicists, statesmen, diplomatists, robbers, pioneers, pirates and founders of new orders of things throughout the world. For one of the chief ends of the codification of international law is to enable statesmen or states the more easily to violate it; and one of the advantages of international law has been to point out to communities when, failing more rational methods, it was time with the sword to insert novel principles and to coerce recognition of the novelties by the unreasonable, the semi-civilized or the belligerent.

To mention but a few of the novel principles the United States has inserted in

international law—there is extirpation of Great Britain's doctrine "once a subject, always a subject." The international law of perpetual allegiance was not only insisted upon by Great Britain within a century, but was actually for a time admitted by the high authorities of the American federal courts. We substituted for it in international law the novel principle that the right of expatriation is a natural and inherent right of all people. It was as late as 1870 that Great Britain by act of parliament confessed that this novel principle had become an integral part of the international code, but in fact it had been wedged in for so long and so deeply without this formal avowal that the avowal was mere waste of words.

To mention another instance of novel principle inserted in international law by this government—annulment of the British claim to impress from American ships. Adams, secretary of state, wrote: "The permanency of peace between the two countries is utterly incompatible with the assumption of the practice of impressing seamen from our vessels on the high seas." Jefferson had written: "If they refuse to settle it, the first American impressed should be a declaration of war." War came; the novel principle was inserted in the international code Oct. 17, 1822, the British government gave up the former "principle" and recognized in peace, as it had been compelled to do by war, the fact that—Lord Salisbury and Joseph Chamberlain to the contrary notwithstanding—there is a nation powerful enough "to insert into the code of international law a novel principle which was never recognized before."

The Monroe doctrine is no more novel than others Great Britain has found this country able to insert in the international code; and after the masterly elucidation of it by Secretary Olney, who resists the doctrine broadly where it belongs, on the base of a nation's right to protect and perpetuate itself—Great Britain will yet in practice, and ultimately by avowal, admit that this "novel principle" has also been inserted in the international code.

A NATION NO PARTIES.

The house of representatives without dissenting voice has passed a bill appropriating \$100,000 for an American judicial commission to ascertain the true boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela.



148

This is the beginning of the first step in carrying out the assertion of the Monroe doctrine as a principle of the international code. Leaders of all shades of domestic difference in congress agreed as one man in supporting the President.

It has been the taunt of the British press and the belief of the anti-American public abroad that in the assertion of the Monroe doctrine at this time the President was "playing politics." It will shortly be apparent abroad that in support of the right of Americans to rule America there are no parties in the United States.

There is a nation.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1895.

AN HOUR FOR STATESMANSHIP AND PATRIOTISM.

If Great Britain had landed troops and made good by force her fraudulent pretensions to the gold regions of the Orinoco without protest by the United States there would have been a tremendous slump in American securities abroad. Your stock jobber is never at a loss for pretext to make margins one side or the other of the market. The rapacity of Great Britain has been halted on the threshold by the now united and firm action of the executive and legislative departments of the American government. The stock jobber finds his pretext in this, and, as distinctly foreshadowed three days ago from London, a notable decline has taken place in American credits abroad along purely speculative lines. Politicians who are more interested in foreign stocks than in the future of the American government strive to wrench out of a mere stock jobbing flurry a political and financial deduction utterly absurd.

A month ago the money markets of Europe were convulsed by stock jobbing on another line. Rumors that the balloned South Africa mines were about to fall to their proper place were employed with swift dexterity to create almost a panic on the boards at London, Liverpool, Manchester, while the Paris bourse, having a great deal more on its hands than it knew

what to do with, "fell down" and had to be helped up by the government and the Rothschilds. Vienna, Berlin, Constantinople, Prague, were all agitated, but nobody was foolish enough to predict as Kaffirs contracted that British influence in Africa was on the wane, or because great monetary institutions were obliged to assume the risks of many Parisian operators that the republic was about to tumble into the Seine. Even the unspeakable Turk sent over to London and got \$5,000,000, much of it in gold, with which to patch up his affairs and enable the Imperial Ottoman Bank to resume specie payment while the Powers were sitting around waiting to pick the meat off his bones.

There was never an hour when stock jobbing ought to be a matter of more complete indifference to the American people. There was never an hour when the feeling of national conscience and national determination was justly livelier than in this. The principles of free government upon this continent, for which our fathers wagered all they had and all they could hope for; the principles for which, from 1861 to 1865, we had to fight, not so much our mistaken and now gloriously restored brethren of the south, but more desperately the vultures of foreign money markets and the assassin monarchy that yearned for our national life then as it yearns to-day for supremacy upon the American continent, have received from both houses of the national congress and the executive an assertion absolutely necessary if we were not to abandon the future of democracy in America and to become a second-class power in the world.

We are at last face to face with the facts of our financial situation. For \$500,000,000 of outstanding debts we have \$70,000,000 of the only money recognized the world over as standard. Stock jobbing, without a country and without a soul, will seize upon a political pretext further to deplete the reserve upon which the national credit reposes. The faith of the American people in their resources is boundless. They have but to apply to the situation those simple principles which every man of intelligence and integrity applies to the conduct of his own



affairs. We are the richest nation in the world. Since our last war not only have we left all other communities behind us in the aggregate of wealth, but the distribution of our wealth is largest per capita of the population of any nation. Notwithstanding these facts, perhaps in consequence of them, we have permitted absorption in private enterprise to blind us to the fact that ours is the only government in the world which is required to do a banking business in addition to being a government. Its affairs should be managed precisely as a business man manages his own affairs. When he wants to do banking business he goes to a banker. This is about the only lesson we have needed to learn from older political institutions. We must accept it. The government must be taken out of the banking business, so that the stock jobbers of the world shall not be able to continue to pounce upon it every time they can find a pretext and no other victim is at hand equally profitable to pluck.

MR. CLEVELAND'S OPPORTUNITY.

President Cleveland never had a better opportunity than is now presented to serve his country and earn its everlasting gratitude.

His apparent reversal of policy in reference to foreign affairs and his aggressive attitude on the Monroe Doctrine, which has brought this country to a more advanced position than it ever before occupied, has naturally given rise to the suspicion freely expressed at home and abroad that he has been influenced by a desire to revive the drooping prospects of the democratic party, and at the same time to quicken his own chances for a fourth presidential nomination. Whether this suspicion is well founded is not the question. It exists, and it weakens our position before the world, to say nothing of the tendency to create dissension at home.

The one man who can dispel this idea is Grover Cleveland. How? By saying once and for ever by his own signature that he will not be a candidate for re-election and would not accept a re-nomination.

Such a declaration at this time would make the people of this country more united than ever in the support of an administration which would give this crowning proof of its independence of personal and partisan considerations, and it would bring the European world to a realization of the earnestness of our purpose.

Will Mr. Cleveland do it?

NOTE FROM DR. VON HOLST.

Some Minor Slips in His Latest Interview Are Corrected.

CHICAGO, Dec. 22.—To the Editor: Will you have the kindness to correct a few erroneous statements in the report of the conversation I had yesterday with two representatives of THE TIMES-HERALD. I cannot say whether they are due to a misunderstanding of the stenographer or to a slip of the tongue on my part.

The first lines of the report read thus: "Great Britain was the originator of the Monroe doctrine." That is the startling statement of Dr. H. Von Holst." That is liable to be misunderstood. The statement is stronger than either the historical facts will warrant or I intended to intimate. I do stand by the declaration that "It would not be altogether incorrect to say that Great Britain—that is to say George Canning—is the original author of the Monroe doctrine in a sense," but the emphasis lies altogether on the words "in a sense." The formal recognition of the independence of the Spanish-American colonies on the part of Great Britain did not antecede the promulgation of the Monroe doctrine, the exact dates of the two English acts in question being, if my memory does not fail me, Dec. 31, 1824, and Jan. 1, 1825; but the germs, out of which it was evolved, so far as the policy of Great Britain is concerned, can be traced back as far as the congress at Aux la Chapelle and, in my opinion (though not all historians may agree as to that) even farther.

"The later conference of 1879," mentioned in the report, is probably only a misprint. I spoke of "later conferences at Paris."

"20,000 or 30,000 acres," read square miles.

I regret that the report fails to mention the universal disapproval of the Napoleon-Maximilian venture by the European powers, on which I enlarged as a strong corroboration of my opinion that they are in substance not hostile to the genuine Monroe doctrine and deem it the justifiable policy of the United States, though they object to its being engrafted upon the code of international law.

In conclusion, allow me to express my thanks and my admiration for the accuracy with which this long and informal interview has been reported, not only as to its main gist, but also as to almost all the details. Very respectfully, H. Von Holst.



ARE WE GETTING HYSTERIC?

NOVEMBER 17, 1895.

—BY H. VON HOLST.

A WELL known Chicago specialist is my authority for the statement that hysteria is not, as the medical profession used to believe and the general public probably still believes, a disease on which nature has given the fair sex an unenviable monopoly. Men, too, are subject to it, and if it takes hold of them it is apt to lead them a pretty lively dance.

In the wilds of northern Wisconsin, where I some months ago accidentally picked up this bit of medical knowledge. It did not occur to me that it might be possibly a fact of interest and import also to the political philosopher. My suspicions to that effect, however, have since been aroused to such an extent that I feel tempted to dabble in medical theorizing and erect an imposing structure on the somewhat narrow foundation furnished me by my travelling companion. In a rough outline my new theory would be something like this: In its most malignant type hysteria is contagious, a microbe acting, of course, as propagator. This microbe, the exclamation mark bacillus—not demonstrably related to the dread comma bacillus of cholera—can live on almost anything, except level headedness and sober second thought. On the tongues and in the pens of politicians that have personal or party interests to forge and on shoulder-straps its growth is luxurious and sometimes prodigious. If it gains a lodgment in the printer's ink of leading newspapers we have to look out for an epidemic somewhat in the character of a psychological grippé, unless some other epidemic, as, for instance, the common grippé or nervous prostration of business, exercises a strong counter-effect. It is sure to spread enough to elicit

from many health officers bulletins to the effect that the whole people are infected. To draw from these symptoms any conclusions as to the true state of health of the public mind is, however, hazardous. Whosoever has in such times an exclamation mark bacillus or two on his own retina sees swarms of them where a sound eye cannot detect a single one with the best microscope.

Hysteria in Regard to Foreign Affairs.

Satisfaction over the gratifying assurance of the Chicago physicians that we have this year not to apprehend a visit from the common grippé is considerably marred by the fact that the exclamation mark bacillus has been for some time flying about right lustily. It does not require a trained eye to discern the symptoms of incipient hysteria with regard to our foreign relations cropping out here and there. No sooner do they seem to abate a little in one place than they pop up all the stronger in another, at the same time imparting a fresh impulse to them where they appeared first.

For a while the strongest argument in the plea for the annexation of Hawaii was the assertion that, if we did not take the islands, England was sure to do so, and if she should after all keep her hands off Japan would be quick to pocket them. It is another notch in the score of our just grievances against England that she was so disobliging not to do anything that could possibly be twisted and turned into an indication that the allegation had anything more substantial to rest upon than the annexationists' word for it.

Then the Monroe doctrine became suddenly endangered, Great Britain being, of course, the ruthless assailant. The patriots who, quick as a flash, had collected



seized the rope of the bell could, however, give it only a pull or two. Their excitability had betrayed them into being a little too much in a hurry. It was too plain that the Monroe doctrine was not in this business at all. But the mistake was pardonable enough. They had, to be sure, sounded the alarm a little too early, but as to the main question they were correct, for they knew only too well with whom they had to deal. That in the Venezuela boundary dispute England proposed to trample the Monroe doctrine under foot was so clear that to argue the question was rather a waste of breath. Many a special correspondent and even editorial writer told us that no stout and big-hearted American could have any patience with those who still deemed that an open question, pointing to the word "system" as a most essential part of the Monroe doctrine as originally enunciated; England might rest assured that public opinion indignantly scorned to back hide-bound pedants and white-livered egotists, seeking shelter behind the flimsy excuse that here was no attempt to graft new shoots of the monarchical system of Europe upon American soil. The situation was depicted as very grave, if not positively alarming, for a vigorous dispatch of our secretary of state had brought things so far to a point that either England or the United States had to back out ignominiously—certainly reason enough for every prudent man to put his affairs in order, for if a complication between equally powerful states has been allowed to come to such a pass the chances that war will ensue are ten to one, simply because no great and self-respecting nation has a taste for "cringing" and "sinking back in disgrace."

Salisbury's Suggestive Silence.

Small wonder, therefore, that some men high in the councils of the nation have dauntlessly stepped forward and staked their hard-earned reputation for broad and far-sighted statesmanship for the assertion that the next eclipse of the moon is not a more certain thing to happen than a war between Great Britain and the United States—some time. Now, all this being so, what interpretation are true-blooded Americans to put on Lord Salisbury's silence on the Venezuela question in his famous Guildhall speech? Did the noble lord mean to hurl the insult of ridicule in our faces by not so much as mentioning this issue, on which such eminent authorities have told us the peace of this continent and a good slice of the rest of the world trembles in the scale? Or is this altogether different the over for an-

sinister stratagem to which the presidential angler and the untrained New England lawyer in the state department are only too likely not to prove equal? Or can it be that some people on this side of the water have prematurely indulged in a slight fit of hysterics over this Venezuela muddle, while those who have officially charge of it have all the while felt satisfied that the nut would prove none too hard for diplomacy to crack?

I plead guilty to the charge of being of the latter opinion, and I am all the more confident that the future will bear me out because I cannot help taking issue with the editorial writer of The Times-Herald, who declared the other day: "The captain (Miller of the brig Harriet G.) is not to be blamed for saying that if the British flag instead of the stars and stripes had been floating upon the masthead the Spaniards would not have dared attempt the unlawful deed" (searching the vessel.) If the captain meant anything, he meant, so far as I can see, that the nervelessness of the American government has taught the Spaniards to believe that, while an outrage upon the British flag is sure to be re-sented, an outrage upon the American flag does not involve any risk. It strikes me very forcibly that such an insinuation wantonly insults not only the administration but also the American people. If any foreigner dared to raise such an accusation the whole people would unanimously protest in hot indignation, and justly so. Never yet have the American people been guilty of putting so craven a man in the White House that any foreign nation has presumed to look upon the stars and stripes as a piece of bunting which could with impunity be made sport of. It is a little too late in the day to decry Grover Cleveland as a man in whose hands the national honor is not safe enough—even as safe as it would be in those of Captain Miller. If the exclamation mark bacillus had not just now wrought us into a nervous flutter as to Cuba and Spain nobody would be betrayed into remarks which, while aimed at the administration, make the whole nation cut a more than sorry figure.

Atkinson vs. Miles.

That at this juncture the general of the army has deemed it his duty "to sound the alarm" is, in my humble opinion, highly regrettable. It may be a rash confession, for I must expect to share the fate of Mr. Atkinson, whom The Times-Herald recently made fun of for venturing to set his opinion against that of General Miles, in view of committing himself to his specialty, cooking steaks garnished with



some political economy. Possibly Mr. Atkinson's bump of humor is so developed that he could enjoy the witty castigation without feeling its smart. I could not relish the humor quite as much as I should have liked to, because the reasoning awakened unpleasant recollections in my mind. Discarding the humorous shell, I found myself confronted once more by the pithy argument, on which the ministers of war on the continent of Europe used implicitly to rely in their discussions with the legislative bodies: only military men understand these military matters, and therefore it is your duty as patriots to simply do what we ask you to. Even in Germany, however, the military authorities have been partially forced out of this position. In our American system it is so utterly and palpably out of place that it would seem better not to take it, even in a half jocose way. "Should war come, which heaven forbid," said The Times-Herald, "Chef Atkinson shall be commissary, but as for fighting, the country will prefer Miles." That is sound doctrine, but not the question. The issue raised by General Miles is not solely or even chiefly a military one. The determining principle of the national policy with regard to international relations is involved. What that is to be the American people have to decide and it is the duty as well as the right of every reflecting citizen to exercise whatever influence he may possess to make this decision conform to the true and permanent interests of the nation. Whether he be a general, or an inventor of cooking stoves, or an editor, or a senator, his opinion is entitled to the weight the reasons have he adduces for it, neither more nor less, whatever his vocation be. It goes without saying that I do not suspect The Times-Herald of any serious intention to dispute that. Several columns devoted to the statement of the opinions of all sorts of people on the lake scare have proved the contrary. Therefore I do not think it presumptuous to tilt also my lance against General Miles, though I do not propose to set myself up as his rival when it comes to fighting.

Never Tricked to Foreign Powers.

When Dickens visited the United States the first time he found everything "brand-new." Brand-new things are still to be found quite profusely in the country, but our vast inland coast line is not one of them and a large part of its coast is also an element of weakness, with which the United States have been afflicted ever since they came into existence.

Nevertheless they have managed somehow to expand to the Gulf of Mexico and to the Pacific, and I am not aware of their ever having been constrained to truckle under to any second-rate power on account of it. They have had only one real war with a power of this description, and that was of their seeking, though President Polk declared: "War exists by the act of Mexico." With a first-class power they have also had to wage only one war, and that was nearly three-quarters of a century ago, when, judged by the standard of today, they were still a loose-jointed strippling, and England had not yet been quite cured of the notion that she could with impunity presume upon them. Since then they have proved to the world in the civil war that the fighting capacity of the American people is fully equal to anything the world has ever seen in this line. The lesson was impressive enough to induce England to settle the Alabama claims and to cause Napoleon to abandon Maximilian to his fate. It is not and never can be forgotten. In view of the fighting that was done then by one section against the other it would not seem likely that second-rate powers, or for that matter any first-class power either, would easily be tempted to pounce down upon us and try our fighting metal, when the nation is as united as it never was before and the population has about doubled. As the United States have grown into a first-class power without having to be constantly on the lookout for war clouds, and though they had but a modicum of coast defenses, it would seem that, if there is now good reason "to sound the alarm" and shake us into consciousness of the dire calamities to which we recklessly expose ourselves, the true doctrine must be that the more our power increases the more we stand in need of formidable armaments. We are asked to believe that we must put ever less trust in the efficacy of a sensible and just policy, because we become necessarily the weaker the stronger we get.

That England, with which we have alone to reckon with regard to the lakes, will be more reluctant than any other power to come to blows with us, seems most obvious for two reasons. For every American bottom her men of war would bring up American privateers would capture at least five English merchantmen, and the whole of Canada is infinitely more at our mercy than our lake cities are at the mercy of her gunboats. In this re-



spect conditions have radically changed since the war of 1812. The reasons lie so plainly at the very surface that there is no necessity of enumerating them. And even if this were not so, we should hold strong vantage ground on the lakes, though we have in our great cities ten or more vulnerable points to her one. For, on the one hand, modern explosives would make mighty short work of the channels through which she could alone bring her gunboats into the lakes, and on the other our merchant marine, which would be available for warlike purposes, is ten times superior to hers. Besides, General Miles—provided he has been reported correctly—is slightly out of date when he says: "In a few days the English could place upon the lakes a force of ships of war that might burn all the cities from Milwaukee to Buffalo." The burning of unfortified cities is a thing of the past in a war between civilized nations. It is universally admitted that even the devil has a right to claim that he be not painted blacker than he is. Let us accord as much to the English as we do to his satanic majesty.

No Need of War Vessels on the Lakes.

Milwaukee, according to The Times-Herald, refuses to be scared. Will Chicago show less pluck? To ask the question is to answer it. Nor do I doubt the least that, when she puts on her thinking cap, her judgment will prove to be as sound as her nerve is firm. To abrogate the agreement of 1817 would be—to use Talleyrand's phrase—worse than a crime; it would be a blunder, and a terrible one at that. That is, however, not saying that it would not be, besides, a crime against civilization by blocking its onward march and compelling it to retrace one of its most glorious and most beneficent steps. The agreement of 1817 pledged the mighty waterways, which nature's bounty has bestowed upon the north of this continent, to peace and good-will by removing, with the exclusion of the instruments of war from their waves, one of the main temptations to engage in war. Shall we now, after it has for nearly eighty years proved to be an inestimable blessing, declare this policy a damnable folly by throwing these inland seas again open to the true arch-fiend of mankind, temptation? Do we expect that while we are building and launching war ship upon war ship England would complacently look on with folded arms? Would she not apply also to the lakes what but a few weeks ago one of her leading statesmen

said again with regard to the ocean: Great Britain's naval power must be equal to the combined navies of any two powers?

And when both parties have dotted the lakes with war ships, against whom will then be the odds in case of war, we having that rosary of splendid cities "from Milwaukee to Buffalo" to her one Toronto and ten merchantmen to every English sail? Methinks we can dispense with the authority of the general of the army to find the correct answer to this question. It is not a military problem; common sense is competent to deal with it. And when the mad race of arming and counter-arming has been run for a while the devil will be sure to watch his chance whenever the exclamation bacillus begins to fly about. "What is the sense of your having provided at great expense the means to make those fellows behave if you won't apply them in an emergency like this?" That the tempter will whisper this into our ears is not less certain than that we shall never become divested of our share of human nature, and we all know how prone human nature has been from the dawn of time to lend a willing ear to such reasoning. That old adage to which we are now treated so liberally *si vis pacem para bellum* has always been but a half truth, and in the unique position in which the United States are placed it is only a quarter truth, for it depends wholly on them to have peace without being any more prepared for war than they have been heretofore. With them it is a vast retrogression to borrow this maxim from the powers of Europe. The blessed mission imposed upon them by providence is to gradually loosen the fatal grip of those powers on the sword hilt. They can do it by the slow-working but irresistible force of competition in the works of peace.

Hysteria Not a Harmless Pastime.

By devoting in this gigantic country of unbounded natural resources all their energies to them the American people will render it in time impossible to the nations of Europe to spend an ever-growing percentage of the products of their labor in securing peace by preparing for war. I, too, doubt whether the sword will ever be wholly relegated to the museums as an interesting relic from bequeathed by gone ages. But I know, because history proves it, that the plowshare and pruning hook are steadily gaining upon the sword and the spear, and that the United States can do the best and the most toward



154

THE CHICAGO TIMES-HERALD.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1895.

THAT VENEZUELA LINE

STORY OF ENGLISH AGGRESSION

**Claims to Territory Vastly in Excess of
the Original Cession by the Dutch
—Greed for Gold Leads to the
Change of Boundaries.**

WASHINGTON, Dec. 20.—In 1814 the English possessions in South America comprehended a possible 30,000 square miles. Twenty-five years later a survey made on behalf of the British government, by a subject—Schomburg—without consent or indorsement of neighboring states, showed a territorial possession of 76,100 square miles. In 1892 Great Britain claimed more than 100,000 square miles in its colonies. At the present day, with somewhat indefinite metes and hazy bounds, it has enlarged upon its swamps extending 150 miles or thereabout from the seacoast, originally obtained from the Dutch, until its western fringe covers the gold bearing mountains of middle South America. There were no purchases of land and no cessions of territory whereby England acquired so much real estate. Concerning his country's right to the great tract Lord Salisbury does not seem to be certain. While he denies the Venezuelan claim to all of it, he is willing to debate the title to that part lying west of the Schomburg line. To this boundary from the Atlantic he claims domain, and will submit to no arbitration. This is the one to which President Cleveland refers as "arbitrary." It pursues an uncertain course from the Orinoco's mouth to the Brazilian frontier. President Cleveland holds that all the territory east to the Essequibo River is debatable, and supports Venezuela's demand for a settlement of the conflicting claims to it.

Territory of British Guiana.

In the discussions of the Monroe doctrine and the intervention of the United States in the territorial dispute between Venezuela and Great Britain, proposed by the President, it has been assumed that the geographical questions involved are fully understood by the public. This may be so, and it may not be true. In either event, a brief review of the situation is not untimely. British Guiana, situated in the northeastern part of South America, just north of the equator, has well defined boundaries southeast and north. It is the northwestern and western boundaries that are involved in discussion. East of the British possessions lie the Dutch provinces; the territories are separated by the River Corentyne. The Brazilian frontiers on the south are also thoroughly defined. At the mouth the rough waters of the Atlantic have thus far successfully resisted British annexation or reclamation. To the west and north-west lies territory in which heavy gold deposits have been discovered. Prior to the finding of the metal, England looked indifferently upon the country. It possessed no com-

mercial value. In parts of it even goats would starve. Taking it in one parcel, swamp, valley, plain and mountain, it was not worth fencing. Venezuelan claim met no check or opposition, and the British colonists lay to the eastward of the Essequibo River, without attempt to encroach on the land over which ownership is now asserted. In the formal cession of territory to England, Holland made specific transfer by title of the counties, and further described them as "lying east of the Essequibo River."

The Original Bounds.

It was in 1814 that Great Britain acquired Guiana from the Dutch. Four years before, Venezuela had asserted its independence and cut loose from Spanish rule. The Dutch and the Spanish from their earliest real occupation of South American territory in 1618 or thereabout, and particularly after the treaty of 1691, had regarded the Essequibo as the line of separation between their possessions. In the four years intervening between the declaration of Venezuelan independence and British accession no attempt was made to enlarge the territory on either side. It was not until 1840 that England made sudden assertion of proprietorship in all lands west from the Essequibo to the Orinoco. It had been learned that the country had possibilities for gold and silver.

The original territory obtained from the Dutch was divided into three subprovinces or counties. Berbice lies on the east, Demerara is the central county and Essequibo the western district. The coast line is about 230 miles in length between the Corentyne and Cayen rivers. The territory is flat and extremely productive in sugar, the growing of which is the principal industry. The settled parts extend along the coast and up the Demerara and Berbice rivers. The fringe of plantations along the water courses and ocean is about four miles wide; beyond the farms lie swamps and waste lands extending 200 miles toward the interior, where the surface becomes undulating, rolling eventually into the foothills of the mountains. The population of British Guiana will reach nearly 400,000. Georgetown, the capital city, lies at the mouth of the Demerara River, in the county of that name, and has perhaps 60,000 residents. The population is mixed, but the colored contingent is largely in excess of the white. The wealth of the country is held principally by Europeans, the absentee proprietors of the sugar plantations.

Sir Robert Schomburg's Survey.

As has been said, until the year 1810 and subsequently England never set forward any claims to territory on the Atlantic coast or in the interior west of the Essequibo River. In the year mentioned, for mineral and consequent commercial reasons, it appeared that parts of the country theretofore under Spanish and Venezuelan dominion would be valuable property. Sir Robert Schomburg, an English engineer, he would not guess his nationality from his name—had previously taken out a survey corps and located the line still known as "the Schomburg," as defining the western boundaries of the English possessions.



This survey, if unchallenged, increased English territory to 75,000 square miles—more than twice the greatest estimate of its original extent. The coast line was lengthened from the mouth of the Essequibo to the delta of the mighty Orinoco River. The initial point of the new line was at the center of the Orinoco's mouth. As Schomburg's maps defined the limits the British holdings extended from the Orinoco at Branch Barina, thence to the Cuyuni, thence to the Parawaguaro to its junction with the Cuyuni, thence up the Aruasua River, thence southwest to Mount Roraima, thence south, a little east along the Coatinga and Tacutu rivers to the Acaaral Mountains. In 1841 Schomburg's maps were printed and the English claim to the territory was set up.

The Venezuelan Protest.

The case was not permitted to go by default. The Venezuelan citizens and officials made earnest protest against the aggression. All the ancient history and old treaties bearing on the subject were examined and the Venezuelan argument supported by the document was presented to the English foreign office by Senor Fortique. The Venezuelans plainly established the limits of the former Dutch and present English possessions as lying between the Pomeroon River on the north and the Essequibo on the west.

"The line made by Schomburg," said Fortique, "is in no sense natural, as is shown by the following quotations from his books:

If we follow the limits which nature prescribes by its rivers and mountains, and include all the regions which are drained by the streams which fall into the Essequibo * * * and adopting the Corentyne as its eastern boundary, British Guiana consists of 75,000 square miles. The Paraima Mountains, extending east and west, thence northwest, are of the greatest importance, forming, as they do, a natural boundary to the territory drained by the Essequibo and its tributaries.

Aberdeen's Disclaimers.

Such an impression was made on Lord Aberdeen, the prime minister at that time, that, on behalf of the government, he disclaimed any English intention of occupying the disputed territory, and to quiet public feeling in Venezuela ordered the monuments and landmarks erected by Schomburg to be destroyed. He assured the Venezuelan representative that the "so-called Schomburg line was never designed to be other than tentative," and the survey was made merely for convenience in future negotiations.

The contention of the South American republic since the beginning of the dispute has been that it must, as a matter of self-protection, control the mouth of the Orinoco, and to this proposition Aberdeen consented. He proposed a conventional boundary, running southward and westward from the Moroco River, leaving Venezuela the Orinoco water. In the way of settlement the South American state would have accepted Aberdeen's proposition and moved the boundary west of the Essequibo, had not the Venezuelan ambassador's death in London at that juncture snapped the thread of the negotiations.

Another Boundary Offered.

In 1851 Lord Granville offered to Venezuela the establishment of a boundary beginning twenty-nine miles southeast of Punta Barina and leaving Venezuela in control of the Orinoco. As the starting point was 100 miles north of Aberdeen's, the republic did not hasten to cede its territory, and the matter died. As late as 1856, two years after new mineral discoveries had again revived the yearnings of Great Britain for the territory, Lord Rosebery proposed a frontier starting from the sea coast a short distance west of the Waini River. This offer was so hampered with tariff and navigation provisions that Venezuela refused to consider it, although it left the republic the control of the Orinoco. At that time the utmost claim of the British government was the Schomburg line, and from that Lord Rosebery considerably receded. In the nine years that have elapsed since Rosebery's offer the English settlers have continued to press to the westward, and the frontier now claimed near the Caroni River is twice as far west of Schomburg's line as the latter is distant from the Essequibo. An English military post is 100 miles to the westward of the Schomburg survey. It is this fact that gave rise to the diplomatic incident which was the cause of ultimate war talk. A drunken English miner and a native had a fight in the town of Uruan, on the south side of the Cuyuni River. Arrests were made by the British constabulary of the section. The Venezuelan troops from the opposite side of the river made reprisal, and, visiting Uruan, captured the British magistrate and a half-dozen of his men. The prisoners were at once released by the Venezuelans, but the Governor of Demerara did not let the matter drop. He claimed indemnity on the ground that the arrest was made on British soil. In this he was supported by the foreign office in England. In the discussion the claim of territory was made, which has brought forth the recent observations of President Cleveland and Mr. Olney.

England's Movable Line Fence.

In the frontier disputes with Venezuela England has claimed seven separate and distinct boundaries. With one exception each was an enlargement upon the preceding, making a steady advance into the interior and northward. The territory now claimed embraces the mouth of the Orinoco and a vast stretch of country extending into the Central Mountains. Its metes are not yet definite, but the extent is much greater than the formal demand of 1893. Then Great Britain proposed a line from the southwestern source of the Amaoua River, running so as to include the headwaters of the Cumano River and the Upsupamo Mountains. This was the last formal proposition, but within the last two years the British colonists and mining prospectors have invaded Venezuela still farther west, as far, in fact, as the Uruan River, near its junction with the Cuyuni. At this point it was that the arrests were made which England resents as "having been made on British soil."

It has been noted that it was the gold fever which blinded the Anglo-Saxon eye to political and territorial proprieties. For more than fifty years it has been known there were deposits in the disputed territory. In the '60s the veins were discovered. They were beyond the Schomburg line, and there was a rush of



English adventurers. The quest for wealth was attended with trouble. Those who did not die from exposure and privation were killed off in great numbers by Venezuelans who regarded the newcomers as trespassers. The gold fields were abandoned solely because the English government expressly declined to afford protection to miners and prospectors.

Heavy Gold Strikes.

In 1884 the excitement broke out anew. Gold was found in the Mazaruni River, and subsequently it was washed out in large quantities from the tributaries of the Barini, Mazaruni and Cuyuni. English miners filled the gulches and the flats at once. At first there was no dispute as to boundaries, but as the strikes multiplied and the product grew, England started to fence in the fields. It was then Rosebery made his offer of a line, noted in the foregoing. Demand for further territory has kept pace with the enlargement of the gold production to nearly \$3,000,000 in 1894 from the moderate beginning of \$15,000 in 1884.

HINRICHSSEN BELIEVES IN WAR.

Says One Every Generation Would Intensify the American Spirit.

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Dec. 20.—Secretary of State Hinrichsen, in reply to a question as to what he thought of the President's message on Venezuela, said:

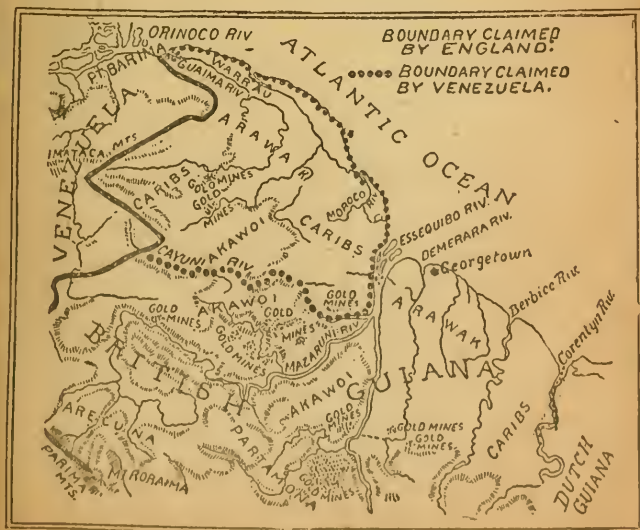
I must say that I like Mr. Olney's communications to England better than I do those of Mr. Car-

lisle. I don't know much about the question in dispute, but I have always thought our country ought to assert herself as the protector of all American republics against European aggression. For thirty years our foreign policy has been pusillanimous, and the best protection an American could have when abroad was found in claiming to be an Englishman. Whatever may be President Cleveland's motive in assuming his position, I think he is right, and the great mass of the people, while caring little about the particular point in dispute, will sustain him.

I think that a war with England would be a very good thing. Our country needs a war about once every generation. It serves to keep alive and intensify the American spirit, opens a field for the expenditure of a great deal of superfluous energy, enthusiasm and patriotism, gives employment to a large number of people who would sooner fight than work and deadens the bitterness between political parties. Of the thousands of foreigners who land on our shores every year, a large proportion settle in communities by themselves, retaining their national customs, habits and prejudices. They are in many respects foreigners always. A war requiring the services of a large number of men would draw many of them into the army. A year of marching and fighting under the American flag and in support of American institutions would do more to Americanize these people than twenty years of peaceful residence, isolated from the American populace.

A war with England would teach us to depend upon ourselves instead of upon English bankers for a financial system. It would prove the death of Anglomaniia in this country, would paralyze A. P. A. -ism, would put an end to all foreign American political societies, and would, in short, Americanize the American people.

MAP SHOWING VENEZUELAN TERRITORY BRITAIN SEEKS TO GRASP.



In the region included between the black and dotted lines of the map the British have established a political division called the Northwestern Province of British Guiana. Venezuela still main-

tains her claim to the mineral region south of the Cuyuni River, which extends to the southward, between the Essequibo River and Mount Roraima.



WHY THERE CAN BE NO WAR.

Great Britain will not engage the United States in war for two sufficient reasons.

First, because she is dependent on foreign soil for more than half her food supply.

Secondly, because in addition to starvation her people would be threatened with paralysis of their industry.

It has been suggested that both food and raw cotton might escape the perils of such a war by being carried in neutral ships. This expedient England herself knows well would be worthless. In 1856 the United States was willing to secure by international compact the immunity of all private property at sea. Great Britain refused to consent. This is one of the instances that prove how vastly it would have been to her advantage to let the United States add one more chapter to international law.

Even if the British merchandise were transferred to foreign flags it would not be immune unless the transfers were actually made before the outbreak of war, which is clearly impossible.

When, last year, the question of strengthening the British navy was up before parliament and the country, the London Times said: "Our own maritime commerce is our life blood. To arrest its flow means nothing less than dissolution of the body politic. It must flow by sea if it flows at all. It must be carried under the British flag if it is to be carried at all. There is not tonnage enough in the world to carry it under any other flag, even if its transfer to a neutral flag were likely to be respected by a belligerent whose strength at sea had rendered such a transfer expedient."

Lawrence in "The Exemption of Private Property From Capture at Sea," says: "We (the British) have all the seas of the world to patrol. It is not a question of naval superiority, but of naval omnipotence."

Should Great Britain engage in a foreign war involving any power having means of attacking her on the sea, that power, wrote Geffcken a few months ago,

before there was any danger from the United States, would "know perfectly well that the necessity of importing food and raw material is England's most vulnerable point." Boyd Kinnear told Great Britain a few years ago: "If our commerce by sea is stopped we perish by starvation."

If England could manage to get cotton in as private property in neutral bottoms, she would lose gradually the food supply from this country, which could not be made up by any other; and even if she got food enough into her harbors, her people would not have money with which to buy it, for her exports would be completely stopped, partly by actual peril of capture and partly by reason of the timidity of capital that would not incur the risk.

But could she get cotton? It has been intimated that she is not seriously dependent now upon the United States for her chief textile import. Here, however, are the figures:

Percentage of imports of raw cotton from the United States into the United Kingdom—

1861	65.19
1870	33.48
1880	73.18
1890	73.54
1894	77.91

In the face of these figures and facts it seems idle to make arrangements to fight Great Britain. A country that, by declaring war upon the United States or making it necessary that we should make war upon her, would run the double risk of industrial paralysis and starvation, would be committing suicide. As the London Times said, "it would be dissolution of the body politic."

There will be no war.

ONE CAUSE OF OUR ANGER.

Nothing has probably ever astonished the British people so much as this outburst of American war spirit over the Venezuelan question. They totally fail to comprehend how a great commercial nation, practically without either army or navy, and with an undefended seacoast thousands and thousands of miles in extent, can defy the strongest naval power in the world in respect to a matter in which, from their point of view, no principle whatever is involved.



158

They say this question has been dragging along for fifty or sixty years; that it relates simply to a boundary line; that it concerns only the two nations interested in that line, and that after all it would be a great deal better for the world if the country in dispute were settled by Europeans than if left in the possession of the composite race that claims it.

They fail to see that it is this very dragging of the question that has been so irritating to the people of the United States, and has at last compelled the administration to take a decisive course to bring it to a settlement. From the time of President Grant, and embracing at least five administrations, our state department has been compelled to deal with the subject in some form. We have fairly begged the British ministry to submit the matter to arbitration, the most expedient mode of settling boundary disputes. The case, as President Cleveland has said, was eminently one for that mode of settlement, but our good offices have been declined. The English statesmen should have felt and known that, in view of the "Monroe doctrine" even as originally announced, the American people would sooner or later become aroused on the subject, and that they would see in Britain's procrastination that she had a bad case.

Sooner or later, too, it was bound to become a question of politics and a party issue. British politicians are too familiar with party maneuvering not to know what that means. Consequently, they should have at least paid some deference to the suggestions of our government and made some arrangement long before this for an amicable adjustment of the boundary line. They have not done so, and now a storm is upon them which will cause them much more anxiety than anything they have yet encountered.

Absolute wisdom and self-restraint will be required on the part of both nations to avert a war which would be the most disastrous of modern times.

That wise counsels will prevail in the end The Times-Herald has no doubt.

VENEZUELA'S DANGER.

Venezuela is in a ferment. Dispatches from Caracas indicate that there is great danger lest our hot-headed and excitable Spanish-American proteges should lose their heads and do something which would make our relations with Great Britain more strained than at present. Cheers and gratitude are pleasing, but from the fact that hourly bulletins are issued containing tidings from this country, it is to be feared that Caracas has not any better idea of the American position in the boundary dispute than has London. The exaggerations of correspondents, aided by the rapid growth which rumor has ever had, may lead the Venezuelans to commit some overt act in which we may not be able to sustain them. A filibustering party sent into the disputed territory would likely result in bloodshed. That would open a new phase of the question, and Venezuela might find herself engaged in a war with England without our support.

We have not gone on Venezuela's bond unreservedly, as the populace of that country apparently believes. We have not promised to sustain Venezuela, right or wrong. Justice is what the United States demands when it wages war with either sword or diplomacy. The temper of the American people is such that no wrong, even on the part of our friends, would be condoned. If, therefore, Venezuela's statesmen would not be left in the lurch, they must control their citizens until the United States gives the signal.

Fortunately, Crespo, the man at the helm, has a more even temper than most of his countrymen, and may be relied upon to do all in his power to keep their excitement within bounds. That he may succeed is the fervent prayer of all Americans.



THE CHICAGO TIMES-HERALD,

FRIDAY, JANUARY 3, 1896.

THE VENEZUELA COMMISSION.

Lord Salisbury may adhere to his dogged refusal to recognize any right on the part of the United States to interfere in the British dispute with Venezuela over their boundary question. But Lord Salisbury must now choose one of two alternatives. He must consent to be placed before the world as a holder back, a suppressor of evidence, in a historical inquiry when complete presentation of facts involved would inevitably contribute not only to the ascertainment of truth but to the preservation of peace, or he must permit the American Venezuelan commission to have access to all documentary or other evidence possessed by Great Britain relating to the boundary question. He can take the former posture at its implied risk; he can assume the attitude of a contributor to historical accuracy in an international matter without sacrificing the dignity of his country or technically recognizing the commission as of political or other binding authority.

Lord Salisbury cannot prejudice the results of the commission's work by casting doubt upon its capacity or its disinterestedness. The President has been intrepid, honest and shrewd in selecting his members. It contains no politician. Not one of the members would raise a finger to help a party or feed a passion at the expense of fact. Justice Brewer, of the United States supreme court, a man of judicial cast of mind, having exercised the office of judge for more than thirty years, will probably be head of the commission. Judge Alvey, of the court of appeals, District of Columbia, is familiar with the Spanish, French and German languages and is expert in scrutinizing documentary evidence. Frederick R. Condit, of New York, has already been favorably introduced to international knowledge by his service in the Bering Sea court at Paris, where opposing counsel and the court itself concurred in generous applause over his learning and his acumen. The highest education plane of the country supplies

the two remaining members of the commission—Gilman, of Johns Hopkins University, and Andrew D. White, formerly of Cornell.

The talents and the honor of such a body cannot be assailed. It is true that their report to the President and congress will be "for information only." They alone will make their rules. That these will be broad enough for truth, restricted enough for order and logic, may be assured. If Great Britain refuse the commission access to evidence in its possession, if it have any, the burden of showing that the finding, if against its pretensions, is erroneous will be thereafter upon its government. The finding of such a commission will carry with every other government professing respect for international comity and historical morals. Should the finding be for Great Britain Venezuela will submit without protest.

No matter which claimant is adjudged the rightful sovereign of the disputed territory, the United States will have won an unprecedented triumph in international history. It will have shown that it can be a neutral as between sovereign powers in conflict over a claim fraught with possibility of war and by judicial elucidation of the essential issue can place upon one or the other so momentous a responsibility of wrong that it will not dare turn aside from a tribunal of arbitration to assume the enormous reproach of engaging in war without a just cause. Thus the United States, even if Great Britain shall remain technically one of the court of the commission, will have secured in all probability not only peace between the contestants in this issue, but will have set an example all other contending powers having claims on the American continent will be compelled to follow. Thus the Monroe doctrine, reasserted by congress and the executive, brings into the international world with the new year peace and not a sword.

The precedent thus established is a scabbard, from which it will be well nigh impossible to draw the sword hereafter.

OUR MILITARY FORCE.

STRENGTH OF UNITED STATES.

One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Troops Could Be Mobilized in One Day — Governors Promise 2,200,000 Volunteers in Thirty Days.

In case war were declared between this government and that of Great Britain the United States could muster 144,356 soldiers of the national guard. These, in addition to the 25,000 men of the regular army, would doubtless be a sufficiently strong force to obstruct the entrance of any force ambitious to evade, and give time to recruit volunteers. In thirty days from any given date twenty-five governors of states say they could produce in the aggregate 2,194,890 men. Seven governors of whom the inquiry was made, would not give an estimate, but each was willing to guarantee the full quota of his commonwealth. Herewith is given in tabular form the states, together with the regularly enlisted military forces in each, which could be mobilized at once. In the second column is given the number of men which the governor or his representative says could be put in the field in thirty days from a call for troops:

	In 24 Hours.	In 30 Days.
Alabama.....	2,500
Arkansas.....	50,000
Colorado.....	1,000	5,000
Connecticut.....	10,000	100,000
Florida.....	1,800
Georgia.....	3,252	50,000
Illinois.....	22,000	250,000
Iowa.....	2,300
Indiana.....	3,000	10,000
Kansas.....	1,000	100,000
Kentucky.....	6,000	350,000
Massachusetts.....	2,200	10,000
Michigan.....	5,000	30,000
Minnesota.....	1,610	50,000
Montana.....	600	8,000
Nebraska.....	1,100	5,100
New York.....	13,174	400,000
North Carolina.....	2,000	30,000
North Dakota.....	600	2,000
Ohio.....	6,500
Pennsylvania.....	7,500	300,000
Rhode Island.....	1,300	3,900
South Carolina.....	4,000	155,000
South Dakota.....	800	17,500
Tennessee.....	3,000	30,000
Texas.....	2,500	100,000
Virginia.....	3,000
Washington.....	1,100	5,000
West Virginia.....	910
Wisconsin.....	2,100	100,000
Wyoming.....	500	8,000
Total.....	144,356	2,194,890

The desired information was not obtained from several of the States. A safe estimate of the militia forces that could be moved on a day's notice would be 150,000, in round numbers.

SCHOMBURGK LINE A MYTH.

Boasted British Maps Intended Only as Classifications of Flora.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 1.—Imprudent testimony is at hand impeaching the correctness of Schomburgk's map of the alleged British boundary line in Venezuela, the document that forms the very corner stone of England's

contention in the pending controversy. It is claimed that the famous Schomburgk line was not a surveyed line, and that the maps by which it was determined were designed solely to illustrate the flora of the country.

The most important feature of the case, however, is the assertion that the territory included in these botanical maps was, in fact, the region including the holdings of British squatters, who had entered the country in disregard of the territorial rights of Venezuela. Copies of similar maps are now in the possession of Professor Emil Ludwig Scharff, of Washington, a son of the late Professor Theodore Scharff, director of the Imperial Normal School of Metz, a lifelong friend of Schomburgk. Professor Scharff was in constant communication with Schomburgk while he was in South America. It is Schomburgk's testimony that came to him which is expected to throw a new light upon the Schomburgk maps. He said to-day:

We were residing in the Grand Duchy of Baden when Schomburgk made his South American trip. Schomburgk was an adventurous, erratic fellow, with a passion for botany. He wandered to North America, to the West Indies and, finally, to South America, winding up in British Guiana. There he undertook a trip into the country lying between British Guiana and the Orinoco. It was a private scientific expedition, and nothing more.

As he journeyed into the interior he made careful examination of the flora. He classified the region geographically, according to the character of the plants he found. When he located the flora of a certain section he collected specimens of the plants, pressing them upon a folio and writing below the sample a description of the same. Then, on the back of the folio he drew a rough map of the region where the species abounded. The map was a defining on paper of the area containing specific classes of plant life.

Schomburgk came upon the huts and camps of British squatters at various places. When he found these places he naturally noted their location upon his maps for the guidance of brother botanists who might undertake expeditions into the interior. I have seen those maps and studied botany from them. Sometimes the maps would be drawn upon a large scale, when exhibiting the location of many varieties of plants within a defined area.

When Schomburgk came out of the forests and returned to British Guiana the governor general saw his collection and took especial interest in the maps showing the location of the British squatters, which he was pleased to call British settlements. The English government immediately took Schomburgk in hand. His maps were accepted as geographical definitions, and the limits of his wanderings and of the discoveries of squatters as the boundary of British territory.

Schomburgk was not a surveyor and made no claim to be. He did not run a line, and the alleged British territory was merely the land occupied by men who placed their foot upon the soil and said, "This is English ground." Schomburgk knew the worthlessness of his so-called boundary of British possessions, but he was not concerned in what the English claimed. They paid him for his maps and he laughed in his sleeve at the claims they based upon them.

I am satisfied, from what I have heard my father say, and from the information I have from Schomburgk that the alleged boundary of English Guiana was an arbitrary one and had no basis of foundation in fact.

160



WORK SOON TO BEGIN.

VENEZUELA COMMISSION PLANS.

Initial Meeting Will Be Held Either To-morrow or Tuesday—Majority to Decide All Questions as to Procedure.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 2.—Associate Justice Brewer, chosen by the President as chairman of the Venezuela commission, called at the White House and at the state department to-day. Afterward he said there would probably be a meeting of four of the commissioners in Washington Saturday.

"I had a conference with the President," said he, "and at his suggestion I telegraphed to the members of the commission asking them to meet me in this city Saturday. Justice Alvey, Mr. Coudert and Mr. Gilman replied that they would be here. Mr. White

found the business he is engaged in too important to leave Saturday, but said he would be here next Tuesday, without fail. I intend to see the President to-morrow and ask him if he considers a postponement of the meeting desirable. Should he do so I will telegraph to the gentlemen to meet Tuesday next. Four of the members of the committee could do nothing decisive. What they would do would be only preliminary. We would wait for Mr. White to join us before we attempted any of the serious work which the commission is to perform.

Majority to Decide on Procedure.

"Just what the procedure will be I am unable to say. That will rest with the majority of the committee. I, as chairman, cannot settle that important question. The organization will be perfected Saturday or Tuesday, and then the question will come up as to what the programme shall be. Speaking for myself, I should say that the best course to pursue would be to first consider the evidence immediately available. There is an immense amount, I suppose, at the state department which will be presented for our consideration. The majority of the committee may think that the correct thing to do is to first go to Venezuela, or to Spain, or to Holland for the purpose of examining the original maps. Should this be decided upon we will, of course, all have to go, unless the commission should decide to delegate one of its members to make a personal inspection."

When Justice Brewer was asked about his appointment he replied:

"Now that the commission is named, I see no reason for withholding the information you desire. While at San Antonio, Texas, I received a telegram from a friend in Washington, who was in nowise connected with the administration, but who is on friendly terms with the President, asking if I would accept a place on the commission. I replied that if it was desired, and my associates in the supreme court were willing, I would accept. I started a few days later for Washington. My return to this city

161
was not caused by any belief that I was to be appointed on the commission. I went away with the understanding that I was to be back in time for the January term of the supreme court. That begins on Monday next."

Must Start at the Beginning.

When asked of his experience in boundary disputes the justice replied:

"While I have rendered decisions in Mexican land grant cases, I have never had to pass upon a boundary question such as the one now pending between Great Britain and Venezuela. I never gave any consideration to the matter. I know, of course, that there was such a question and in course of time it would come up for settlement, but I never gave other than casual consideration to the matter. I suppose the other members of the commission are equally ignorant. We will therefore have to start into the work before us from the very beginning.

"The question is a very serious one. The most careful consideration will have to be given to the matter. It has been suggested to me to-night that possibly our findings might place the true boundary line far into British territory east of the Schomburgk line. What might the result of such a decision be? It would undoubtedly lead to embarrassment in the relations between the United States and Great Britain. This, of course, I should rather avoid, but it will not interfere in any way with the findings of the commission. We will do our utmost to lay the line where it belongs.

All Possible Information Desired.

"I have not been able to see any members of the commission, nor have I talked with any of the administration officials as to what documents foreign countries shall be requested to supply, or whether, in fact, any requests shall be made. I saw Secretary Olney to-day, and our discussion related essentially to the commissions which should be given to the members of the committee. The names will not have to go to the senate. Secretary Olney said that the matter would be settled before the end of this week, so I suppose that the gentlemen will get their commissions before we meet.

"The question whether Great Britain and Venezuela shall be requested to present their sides of the case will depend upon the majority's decision. It may be that the majority may not consider it necessary to leave Washington. Personally I am anxious to get at all facts available. My own disposition, as I have stated, is to accept information from whatever source it can be obtained."

Justice Brewer said he had no idea how much time would be required to do the work before the commission. He said it would obtain all the facts and do its work thoroughly. A European trip would, of course, delay the work considerably.

It is authoritatively stated in behalf of the administration that the commission will be absolute master of its own procedure, fixing the time and place of its meetings and determining for itself whether or not it shall visit foreign countries, what class of evidence may be taken into consideration, and how interested governments may be represented before the tribunal.

Minister Andrade, of Venezuela, notified his government by cable to-day of the appointment of the commission. The case of



Venezuela is ready to present at any time, although the Venezuelan authorities will take no steps toward offering evidence until the rules governing the commission are announced. So far as is known, Minister Andrade will present the Venezuelan case, as he has a long acquaintance with the subject, and is, moreover, a fluent advocate in English.

The British authorities will not formally recognize the commission, but the British side of the case will be secured by application of Ambassador Bayard to the London foreign office.

The personnel of the commission was commanded to-day by members of the house who take particular interest in international matters regardless of party affiliations. The gentlemen selected were considered entirely competent to conduct what the President in his message expressed a wish for—a judicial examination of the evidence relating to the boundary. It was also pointed out that, while several members of the commission have participated in politics, none can be considered a strong partisan at this time, so they would not be likely to enter upon their work with party ends to serve.

INDORSED BY LINCOLN AND TREE.

President Cleveland's Venezuelan Commission Is Praised.

The Venezuelan boundary commission appointed by President Cleveland meets the approval of Lambert Tree and Robert T. Lincoln, both ex-representatives of the United States in Europe—Mr. Tree in Germany and Mr. Lincoln in England. Mr. Tree characterizes the President's appointments as "a fair commission." Mr. Lincoln says "they are all good men."

Mr. Tree was interviewed last night in his home and said he thought the President had endeavored to steer clear of politics in naming the commission, inasmuch as not one of the commissioners was prominently identified with the movements of either party. Possible exception might be taken as to Frederic R. Coudert, he said, and as for Andrew D. White, while it might be claimed that his voice was oftentimes heard in the councils of the republican party in New York state, he was essentially a scholar and not a politician.

"Of the five commissioners," Mr. Tree went on to say, "I know personally but three. They are Justice Brewer, Mr. White and Mr. Coudert. Of course I know Justice Alvey by reputation, and a fine and enviable reputation his is. I know also of Mr. Gilman, and am told that he is a most able man. The presence of Justices Brewer and Alvey gives to the commission a judicial character that will be of great weight. Two others, Messrs. White and Gilman, may be regarded as furnishing the commission with a truly scholarly aspect, and Mr. Coudert, to my mind, stands rather in the light of a distinguished lawyer than a politician.

"No, I can't say I was even surprised at President Cleveland's selections. They are all well-known men, three of them exceptionally so. As I observed before, it is, on the whole, a fair commission."

162
Ex-Minister to England Lincoln was seen at his home, 60 Lake Shore drive, last evening. He expressed these three opinions:

"I am perfectly satisfied with Mr. Cleveland's appointments.

"I know three of the gentlemen, Justices Brewer and Alvey and Mr. White, and I consider them men of great ability.

"The other two commissioners are gentlemen of whom I have heard, and I have no doubt they will perform their momentous duties conscientiously."

Jan. 4, 1896.

THE REVERSE OF THE PICTURE.

The London Chronicle has published dispatches which passed between Lord Aberdeen and the Venezuelan government in 1841, in which her majesty's then secretary of state for foreign affairs admitted the tentative nature of the Schomburgk line. Sir Robert Schomburgk's action was "a mere preliminary measure." The posts which he had put up should remain, for they afforded "the only tangible means by which Great Britain is prepared to discuss the boundaries." Lord Aberdeen continued: "These posts were erected for that purpose and not, as the Venezuelan government appears to apprehend, as indications of domain and empire on the part of Great Britain."

This publication puts a new face on the controversy for English eyes, although it will hardly be news to Americans who have followed the Venezuelan developments at all closely. English common sense is beginning to assert itself. Why should a line which to Lord Aberdeen was merely the preliminary to peaceful discussion of the delimitation of British Guiana become to Lord Salisbury a historical fixture which Great Britain would defend with arms? Why (they are asking), when Lord Granville and Lord Fitzmaurice had consented to arbitration, should Lord Salisbury upon his induction to office overturn the policy of his predecessors and refuse to submit the proposition to impartial judgment?

His persistent refusal to arbitrate, his animadversions on the principle and his uncalculated attack on the Monroe doctrine have given an opportunity for criticism which his enemies have not overlooked, now that the first explosion of public wrath has subsided. The British



and America standing steadily on its original proposition, no longer talking war, but going calmly about the execution of the plans of congress and the President. They must wonder why public opinion, with the exception of the "thoughtless meditation" of a few practicing un-Americans, is so unanimous and so resolute in this matter. Wondering, they are disposed to investigate, and such publications as that of the Chronicle may convince them that in discarding the theories of his antecedents in office and in revoking the word of his government Lord Salisbury was guilty of an act little short of common dishonesty.

The British prime minister has yet to reckon with the great peaceful middle class of England. They will not buy a pig in a poke. Again we must remember that the liberal opposition, though in eclipse for the moment, is still strong and ambitious, and that its leaders will be indisposed to hold to the professions of intense devotion which greeted the first publication of the Olney correspondence. Politics on a big scale is about as much of a game over there as it is on this side, and the liberal Chronicle's sortie is not unlikely to be the beginning of heavier operations against the marquess and "Imperial Joseph."



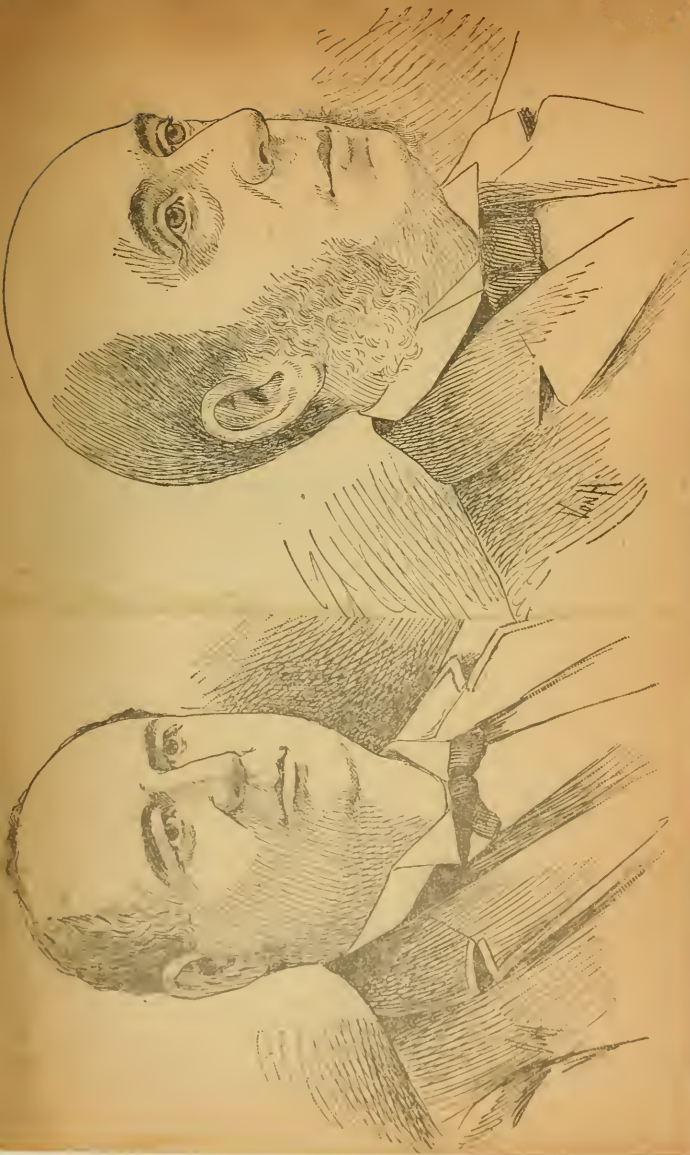
GENERAL CRESPO, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF VENEZUELA.



General Joachim Crespo, President of the Republic of Venezuela, seems to have entered adult life with two distinctive attributes that seldom go hand in hand. He is a shrewd, conservative business man, rich in lands and herds—a veritable king of the south. Then he is a successful soldier—a soldier whose iron nerve has endeared him to his followers. When he headed the revolutionary rising against the unconstitutional acts of President Páez, and drove that merciless

despot from the presidency, he accepted the provisional head of the government. This he followed by issuing a pronouncement ordering a constitutional election. He was himself elected. He again showed his love of free institution by preparing a new constitution, patterned as nearly after that of the United States as the different conditions of the country and people would permit. General Crespo is now about 50 years of age, and was born at Bar elona, Venezuela.

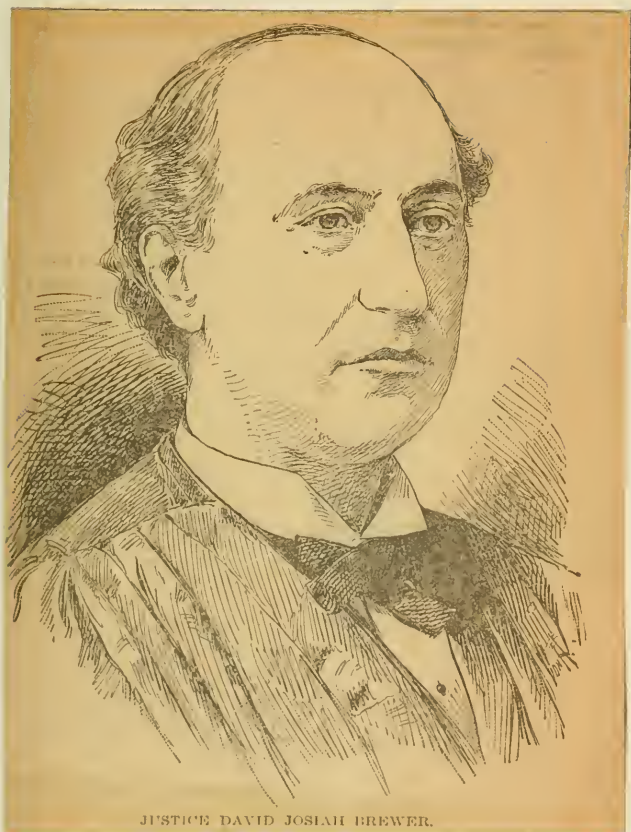




FREDERICK R. COUDERT.

RICHARD H. ALVEY.





JUSTICE DAVID JOSIAH BREWER.



The Free Press.

LONDON, ONT.

Thursday, January 9, 1896.

VENEZUELAN DISPUTE.

AN HONORABLE WAY OF SETTLING IT.

An Anglo-American Treaty, Under Which All Questions Failing of Diplomatic Settlement shall be Submitted to Arbitration.

London, Jan. 8.—The Chronicle's Washington correspondent cables as follows:—

There is a heroic way of settling the whole difficulty, fraught with honor to both Governments, with results of priceless worth to both peoples. The present delay consists in the fact that the United States Government considers itself in honor bound to insist upon a certain course which the British Government considers itself in honor bound to refuse to adopt. Every day spent here has convinced me more strongly that it is impossible to exaggerate the seriousness of such an international situation. If the British public is misled by the optimistic sentiments of New York it may suddenly find itself face to face with an appalling danger. If the American Government only acts in the belief that because Great Britain is threatened with a European crisis, therefore she will knuckle down to any American demand, it may suddenly discover that the European crisis has blown over, and that war with England is in its hands. I once more repeat my solemn conviction that the overwhelming majority of the American people will support their Government on behalf of the principle of arbitration where American interests are believed to be involved. At the same time I positively reassert that the President and the Cabinet earnestly desire an amicable settlement, and individual members of the Administration confess that they fail to comprehend the reasons for England's attitude of mere blind refusal. In all the Government departments here the situation is regarded as very serious, despite every effort made on behalf of peace. Now the kernel of the dispute is the principle of arbitration.

16
1
The solution may be found therein also. If Lord Salisbury will say that although he must maintain his refusal to arbitrate on Venezuela by itself, he is prepared to conclude a treaty with the United States under which all questions failing of diplomatic settlement shall be submitted to arbitration, and that this of course would include Venezuela as the great or includes the less, the American Government, I know, will receive his communication with warm sympathy. Herein is a dignified and a most simple and friendly escape from a deadlock. Remember that a resolution to this effect was adopted by Congress on April 4, 1890, and responded to by a resolution by the House of Commons, supported in its decision by Mr. Gladstone on June 16, 1892. A second joint resolution of Congress was introduced in the Senate by Senator Allison, on June 20, 1894, and referred to the committee on foreign relations, where it still remains. Two things block the way. The first, that if any arbitration was ever under discussion it is laid aside when Congress, by refusing the \$425,000, temporarily invalidated the Paris Behring Sea commission award. But, as I have already cabled, a treaty is partly concluded to which America, Canada and the British Ambassador in Washington have all assented, placing this matter in a direct way of settlement. I observe that the statement is to-day cabled from London that this treaty is blocked by Canada's refusal. The statement is entirely baseless. Canada has formally and finally agreed. It only awaits the assent of the Foreign Office for this treaty to become operative. I reassert that there is both surprise and regret felt here at the delay. It is urgently desirable that this treaty be pressed forward. As soon as this is done the first difficulty will have been removed. The second difficulty is the English feeling that any action taken now would appear to be due to American threats. In reply to this, it is quite certain that neither President Cleveland nor Mr. Olney think of threatening England. They only desire, after years of fruitless diplomatic discussion, to make the attitude of their own country clear beyond the chance of further misun-



derstanding it. If Lord Salisbury has any doubts upon this point, an inquiry through the regular diplomatic channels, Mr. Bayard or Sir Julian Pauncefote, will, I am convinced, dispel the notion that the American Government deliberately adopt a menacing attitude not proper in diplomatic communications. Moreover, if Lord Salisbury is aggrieved by the expressions of the American Government, the American Government, in its turn, considers itself legitimately aggrieved by Lord Salisbury's tone and his virtual pooh-hooing a doctrine which they had formally declared they regarded as vital to the national welfare. Therefore, these sentiments balance each other, and there is every ground for mutual agreement and assurance that no offence was intended. These two are only things in the path leading to a grand recognition before the whole world of the principle of arbitration between the civilized world. The British public are ready; I am confident that the American public are equally ready, and I know that the American Government is ready. This being so, what blocks the way to an almost immediate removal of Venezuela from the field of international discussion, and the complete restoration of relations between the two peoples, who, while only too ready to fight for principle, are even readier to agree upon a civilized settlement henceforth and forever? If Lord Salisbury is able to move diplomatically in the direction indicated, it is certain that the meeting of the Venezuelan commission would be instantly adjourned until the time was ripe for common discussion of the question when the treaty should become law. I will only add, if it were my last word, that it would be a lamentable mistake for England to believe that there is any division of opinion worth considering in this country. Washington, far more than New York, is the pulse of the United States, and I have been feeling that pulse for over a week, and I assert, despite criticism or contradiction, that America will speak with practically one voice in support of the Carnegie in the Venezuelan matter. If Lord Salisbury decides that it is impossible to take any step, let him and England at least recognize what is the alternative. The Times' editorial called to the papers here to-day is calculated to produce a great and most favorable effect. A few more such wise, conciliatory and statesmanlike utterances on both sides, and the nations

will be marching hand and hand down the Christian road of peaceful negotiation.

Commenting on the foregoing despatch, the Chronicle says:—The vital and absorbing feature of the controversy is that America desires arbitration and we cannot refuse the request. It is slowly, we hope surely, entering the minds of our statesmen that in order to do justice to the American case we must look at the Monroe doctrine from the American point of view. Herein the hair-splitting of ingenious lawyers and academic essayists help very little. We have to take into account a deep-rooted national sentiment, which has a way of getting itself recognized in policy and in action without the sanction of theoretical rules. Lord Salisbury may urge this, that the American doctrine is not incorporated in the code of the international law. The American answer is that what we call international law is merely the customs observed by European States in their relations with each other, which have been determined by the dominant powers. England is foremost as a maker of international law. It requires no exceptional gift of perception to see that the United States aspires to the same leading role in politics on the American continent. England filled Europe with glory, and was herself a benefit to mankind, in the period of Napoleonic wars. The international law which is to govern the American continent is in progress of formation, and we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that since the United States is the dominant power on that continent, it will not fail to exercise that paramount influence which is incidental to the position.

In reply to the request that he sign the address of British literary men to American authors, asking the latter to do all in their power to prevent a war between Great Britain and the United States, Alfred Austin, the new poet laureate, writes protesting admiration and respect for the American Government and people, and saying that their recent attitude was unfair and unfriendly. He therefore at the present moment cannot approve of a body of Englishmen addressing a body of Americans in the language which might be construed as savoring of timorous complaisance.

Speaking to his constituents at Plymouth, Sir Edward Clarke, M. P., who was Solicitor-General from 1886 to 1892, said that if Great Britain refused arbitration on her claims with



169
In the Schomburgk case, submitting to arbitration only those claims outside of the United States, there would be a war with the United States in which Great Britain would not be in the right.

In regard to the pressure brought, urging the Marquis of Salisbury to publish the entire Venezuelan correspondence, the Foreign Office states that while it wishes to do every thing in its power, as consistently as it can to furnish all the available matter that may tend to better the feeling between the two Governments, it must be realized that the correspondence extends over 55 years, and is in various languages. Therefore, it is not a matter which can be compiled in a few days. The statement of the Foreign Office ended with the remark:—"You may state, however, that the Marquis of Salisbury is engaged upon the matter, and that a full statement will be placed before Parliament as speedily as possible."



WAR !

BETWEEN ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES



SCENE FIRST



SCENE SECOND, AND LAST.....

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LIBRARY

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LIBRARY

SATURDAY, JANUARY 11, 1896.

AS DEFENDERS.

A Canadian Military Man Speaks of His Countrymen.

THE WELLAND CANAL.

He Doubts if Uncle Sam's Troops Could Seize It.

A Scheme for Destroying Niagara River Bridges—
Does Not Fear an Irish Rebellion—An Imperial
Confederation.

To the Editor of the Cleveland Leader.

I presume it will almost amount to treason, my penning the following dialogue I listened to a few evenings ago whilst seated at the fireside of a friend. The company was composed of a half dozen visitors who were enjoying the good cheer a hospitable gentleman knows how to dispense. Among the guests was a Canadian military man, known only to our host. In spite of all the manoeuvring Mr. H. (I will call him by that name, not wishing to give prominence to the parties, who are well known) could do the conversation turned upon the all-absorbing topic, "War with England." One of the company said the first thing to do was to take possession of the Welland Canal.

This roused Mr. Canadian, and he asked the speaker whether the Canucks were expected to run excursion trains to accommodate the invading army.

A ripple of laughter went around the circle at the ridiculous question, when one of the company replied that the thing was so simple in fact that no sane man could doubt the ability of Uncle Sam to have full possession in 24 hours after hostilities commenced. The intended crusher did not silence the Canadian and he ventured to doubt the ability of Uncle Sam to accomplish the undertaking in the length of time.

Some one in the company said the militia regiments of Western New York could do the job "in a jiffy."

Mr. Canadian at this sally broke out with a hearty laugh, and replied good humoredly that he hoped never to see the day when the attempt would be made, for he had many warm friends on this side of the line, but if ever it was the job

WOULD BE A BIG ONE.

This caused another laugh on the part of his opponents, and the first speaker asked Mr. Canadian if he doubted our ability in getting possession.

"Well," replied Mr. Canadian, "you might do it after awhile." This added an interest to the conversation and everyone was anxious to hear his side of the question.

"How long do you think it would take us to capture the Welland Canal?"

"Two or three years."

"Humbug! Nonsense! What are you talking about? Are you crazy? Why, we could have the whole country in a month, Chauncey Depew says."

"Never mind Chauncey Depew," broke in Mr. Canadian, "and I am not a lunatic either. In fact, I think you would be lucky to do it in that length of time."

This was the height of folly to hear a man who everyone knew (when his identity had become known to the company) was considered somewhat of an authority at home, but the Canadians are green anyhow, so the company took a charitable view of the gentleman's idiotic remarks.

"How large a force do you think we would have to put in the field to capture the ditch?" asked a National Guardsman present.

"Altogether, reckoning the hospital transportations and commissary departments, I should say that no good general would undertake such a campaign with less than a quarter of a million of men."

This almost took our breath away, and everyone in astonishment exclaimed:—"What! A quarter of a million of men?"

"Not a man less," repeated Mr. Canadian, taking a map out of his pocket and spreading it on the center table. We all became doubly interested as he continued: "Mind, I do not mean to say but in the end the greater numbers will always win, all other things



being equal. You must not think we are asleep. Now, I will try to show you what sort of a holiday excursion you would have. We can at present put about 60,000 men, armed and equipped, in the field. Within one hour after the declaration of war every bridge across the Niagara River would be destroyed. That would entail either the transportation of the army across the lake, or if you built a bridge of boats a fierce struggle before you gained a footing. You see, once the present communications destroyed, we shall have a coast line for defense

ALMOST THE WHOLE LENGTH of the two provinces, Quebec and Ontario. If you look at this map you will see that we are only assailable at certain points. It would be useless for you to land an army on the north shore of Lake Superior. Even Lake Huron's beach does not offer the best field in the world for a military man to operate in. Consequently, your expedition must either cross Lake Erie or Lake Ontario, which would require long and careful preparation. Turning your lake carriers into man-of-war crafts and mounting guns on them, to my mind, is rather visionary. Against modern artillery, of which we shall have plenty, they would cut a poor figure."

"Mr. Canadian, this is preposterous," said one of the company. "You do not reckon on the fact that we are bubbling over with patriotism. The clerks from our mercantile houses, our banks, our lawyers' offices, the boys from our farms would all join the invading army and drive you to the North Pole."

"I do not doubt your patriotism nor your courage," quietly remarked our foreign friend, continuing whilst tracing the border lines with his pencil. "Our coast line to be defended is not so difficult when you know the obstacles nature has placed for us. The Niagara River would not require a large force after the bridges are destroyed, hence we could concentrate our forces and I think I am correct when I say that you would do well if you secured a landing and established a base for future operations in a year. By that time we could have in the field over a quarter of a million well armed and drilled troops fighting for their homes and families."

"This erratic Canuck was evidently 'talking through his hat,' but we let him go on.

"We should have at least two hundred guns and perhaps more with full complement of artillerymen. Another thing you must bear in mind. Winter

campaigns are generally very costly in both men and material to carry on, hence your operations must be accomplished in the summer." By this time we were all certain he was fit for the lunatic asylum, and one of the company suggested "that we take up a collection and send him home in charge of a keeper."

"Probably you think so," replied Mr. Canadian, as a grave expression appeared on his features. "I am not arguing nor saying that you could not conquer Canada. I am only showing you some of the difficulties."

OUR HOST, IN HOPES

of putting a stop to a subject the last speaker did not understand, and which was becoming exceedingly dull and monotonous, especially from one whose ignorance at home was evidently considered a virtue, proposed refreshments. As far as the refreshment went it was all right, but it proved a failure in changing the topic of conversation. When we were once more seated around the fire and the smoke of our Havanas was slowly curling up to the ceiling, one of our party asked the "turkey cock" from over the border "if he really thought that Canada could hold her own for any length of time?"

"We should do our best," he replied. "You see our line of defense would be far shorter than yours of attack. Then you must take another thing into consideration. Our base of supplies would be in the interior of the country, at the same time within easy distance of either Lake Ontario, Lake Erie, or Lake Huron."

"You have not told us anything about Quebec and the Maritime provinces!" This question we considered would knock out the Canadian bird, but he spread his feathers and came right back at us with another of his presumptuous answers. "No nation," said he, "who cannot command the lower St. Lawrence would think for a moment of attempting an invasion in that direction. So far in the statements I have made I have not relied on help from the mother country. With her gunboats patrolling the river as far as the first rapids above Montreal even if they could not get any further, and she could put twenty-five or thirty thousand troops into the province, I think we could check any advance from that direction."

"Ireland would rebel and that would effectually keep all the British troops at home," remarked the national guardsman.





HISTORY OF THE HOLY ALLIANCE.

How the Attempt to Boss America Brought Forth the Monroe Doctrine.

FOR a hundred years last past the nations of Europe have been the playthings of despots. They have been mobilized into vast armies, which have trod the earth either in retreat or as conquerors. There have been marchings and counter marchings across plains and mountains, over rivers and down valleys, until the spectacle ceased to be a wonder or a novelty.

As fast as one campaign was finished another commenced.

When monarchs became weary of war they sought recreation in issuing edicts, imperial decrees to this or that nation, or sought repose in calling together congresses of sovereigns and there discussing great questions of state or reconstructing the maps of the country and taking an inventory of the world's goods, wares and incorporeal hereditaments.

They engaged in teaching the science of government, in forming a code of international law and of assisting those who had charge of the spiritual affairs of the earth in discharging their duties properly.

They became specialists and experts in all the departments of knowledge, but excelled principally in the use of gunpowder and other high explosives.

They engaged in war and never appeared in any public assembly except in military array and top boots.

This has been the course of things in modern Europe ever since the moderns succeeded the ancients, and is not out of date yet. Tyrants and despots have, when not at war with each other, exhibited a most unvarying affection for each other, and mutual dangers and mutual hardships have been the means of forming bonds of endearment between them.

Among the most striking exhibitions of this species of love and affection is what is known as the holy alliance, which fills a most important niche in European and Atlantic history.

Different versions have been given of its origin, but it is generally conceded that it was drawn up at Paris during the occupation of the French capital by the allies after the battle of Waterloo in 1815. It was written in the French language by the Czar Alexander and, it is claimed, was suggested by Mme de Krutner and Bernadotte, although the propriety and advisability of such an organization had undoubtedly occurred to all of the sovereigns who had been engaged in the campaign against Napoleon. The King of Prussia

signed the paper from motives of friendship to the czar. The Emperor of Austria, when it was presented to him, declined at first to append his signature to it, remarking that "if it contains a political secret I must tell it to Metternich; if it is a religious one I must tell it to my confessor."

A Tripartite Document.

It was a rather high sounding, pretentious and deeply pious document, and purported to be in the interest of the most holy and indivisible trinity. It was tripartite, and was limited to Russia, Austria and Prussia, but it afterward included in its jurisdiction France, England and Spain, and several other countries, although England never took, but very little stock in its aims or objects and opposed many of its schemes and projects with great vigor. It is of such a unique character, and breathes through it all such piety and devotion, that it may not be amiss to quote at length two or three of its articles in order to show how an instrument so sacred could become the high commission of the devil.

It opens with a symphony and ends with a hallelujah chorus.

"In the name of the most holy and indivisible trinity: Holy alliance of sovereigns of Austria, Prussia and Russia. Their majesties, the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Russia, having, in consequence of the great events which marked the course of the three last years in Europe, and especially of the blessings which it has pleased divine providence to shower down upon those states, which place their confidence and their hope on it, and, acquired the intimate conviction of the necessity of settling the same to be observed by the powers in their reciprocal relations to the sublime truths which the holy religion of our Savior teaches, they solemnly declare that the present act has no other object than to publish in the face of the world their fixed resolution, both in the administration of their respective states and in their political relations with every other government, to take for their sole guide the precepts of that holy religion, namely, the precept of justice, Christian charity and peace, which, far from being applicable only to private concerns, must have an immediate influence on the conduct of princes, and guide all their steps, as being the only means of consolidating human institutions and remedying their imperfections.



Text of the Agreement.

"In consequence their majesties have agreed on the following articles:

"Article 1. Conformably to the words of the holy scriptures, which command all men to consider each other as brethren, the three contracting monarchs will remain united by the bonds of true and indissoluble fraternity, and, considering each other as fellow countrymen, they will on all occasions and in all places lend each other aid and assistance, and, regarding themselves toward their subjects and armies as fathers of families, they will lead them with the same spirit of fraternity with which they are animated to protect religion, peace and justice.

"Art. 2. In consequence, the sole principle of force, whether between the said governments or between their subjects, shall be that of doing each other reciprocal service, and of testifying by unalterable good will the mutual affection with which they ought to be animated, to consider themselves all as members of one and the same Christian nation, the three allied princes looking on themselves as merely delegated by providence to govern three branches of one family, namely, Austria, Prussia and Russia, thus confessing that the Christian world of which they and their people form a part has alone power, although derived from God, because in Him alone are found all the treasures of love, science and Savior; the word of the Most High; the word of life.

"Their majesties consequently recommend to their people with the most tender solicitude, as the sole means of enjoying that peace which arises from a good conscience, and which alone is durable, to strengthen themselves every day more and more in the principles and exercise of the duties which the divine Savior has brought to mankind.

"Art. 3. All the powers who shall choose solemnly to avow the sacred principles which have dictated the present act, and shall acknowledge how important it is for the happiness of nations too long afflicted that the truths should henceforth exercise over the destinies of mankind all the influence which belongs to them, will be received with equal ardor and affection into this holy alliance.

"Done in triplicate and signed at Paris the year of grace 1815, 14-26 September."

Metternich, when shown this document, observed, in the most scornful manner: "C'est du verbiage," and that it was nothing more than a philanthropic aspiration, clothed in a religious garb. He knew its purport, and was ready to make use of it on the same principle as the Turk does the Koran, for, to whomsoever it is presented, he must believe or die.

If an unsophisticated individual was to read this collect he would think that the persons named therein were about to enter holy orders to found a monastery or a theological seminary or enunciate the articles of faith of some new religious sect, for it is innocence personified and the very holiness of the flesh.

Made Christianity a Cloak.

"Christianity has had many crimes committed in its name. The holy alliance made Christianity the cloak under which the king of Europe conspired to perpetuate the deluge of their subjects." It is but another instance of diplomacy concealed under a mass of Christian precepts and religious vows.

It forms one of the bloodiest chapters in the book of time, and the shrieks of innocent victims, which went up to heaven as they fell beneath the blows inflicted upon them by these missionaries of the cross, who acted alone in the name of the holy trinity, will never cease to be heard until that last great day, when these hypocrites and bloodthirsty wretches will receive their dues at the judgment seat of God. Let us

turn the book of fate and see how "this Society of Jesus," as Carlyle once mockingly called it, put their precepts into practice and what Christian acts they performed on the theater of public affairs and what benefits they conferred on the human race.

It will not be possible to go into details in such a sketch as this, but it will strike any one of this day as something marvelous

that any country like England could have ever lent it countenance to such an organization as that of the holy alliance, whose real object was neither to spread christianity nor the principles of human freedom. It was one of the most monstrous and gigantic conspiracies ever formed to perpetuate and maintain despotism and despots, and when the three contracting monarchs declared that "they would remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity, and, considering each other as fellow countrymen, would on all occasions and in all places, lend each other aid and assistance," it should have been taken as a warning rather than the announcement of the gospel of peace, and when they declared that they "looked upon themselves as merely delegated by Providence to govern," they should have been met with the announcement that the world had repudiated the divine right of kings. The first article of the compact was an agreement binding each other mutually to support that divine right on any and all occasions.

It was not limited to the continent of Europe, but was one of the most abominable and outrageous schemes ever devised to destroy throughout the world the just freedom of the people.

Lord Castlereagh, who represented Great Britain at the congress of Vienna, strange to say, had not wit enough to discern this thing, and, as Mr. Sappleton says, that Great Britain by sanctioning the unholy appellations of that congress lost the respect and confidence of the better portion of the human race, and if it had not been for the open revolt of the people at such baseness and Canning's efforts to redeem the lost reputation of England by inaugurating an entirely different policy, England would have become a satrap and been led captive at the heels of the continental powers. The career of this man Castlereagh is one of the strangest ever recorded in English history, and it would seem that he either possessed no moral sense whatever or he possessed a mind incapable of comprehending the true principles of an enlightened government.

In a freak of fortune he had been elevated to the most important office in the British government, and in order to avoid the difficulties which presented themselves to him, arising both at home and abroad, he assumed a temporizing policy, and apparently never stopped to consider what the results would be, or how the enlightened portion of the world would regard him.

Certain general ideas as to the advantage of preserving peace, coupled with a bias against liberal opinions, were apparently the springs which regulated each separate determination; and these motives of conduct were sufficiently uniform in their operation to produce systematic results, although the individual who was really the cause of these events was ignorant of the principles which guided him.



The months before he was to have set out for Verona to attend an important meeting of a congress to be held by the holy alliance, symptoms of abatement of intellect began to manifest themselves, no doubt occasioned by that great bodily fatigue and mental anxiety which must be ever inseparable from a post in the government so high at an epoch so momentous.

The fatal consequences of his state of mind are well known. He died leaving his successor in the most arduous situation that ever fell to the lot of a foreign minister of England, and face to face with difficulties of the most momentous character, at home and abroad.

Canning and the Alliance.

Mr. Canning received the seals of office from the king on the 16th of September, 1822.

The power of the holy alliance had at that time arrived at a most formidable height, and the avowed principles by which that power was directed were so utterly subversive of all freedom and so hostile to the spirit of the age that it excited the opposition and aversion of all liberal-minded men.

It utterly repudiated the principles which were essential to every constitutional government, and treated with absolute contempt the idea that the people are the origin of all power or that the object of all governments is the good of the people.

There has always been a strong party in every European government which believes in ultra-monarchical principles, and supported, as it always is, by the power of arms, which those in possession of the government can always command, it is not very strange that these who advocate popular principles, even if they largely outnumber their adversaries, rarely make themselves felt.

Mr. Canning said that the future destiny of England depended not on striking terror into the hearts of the people, either at home or abroad, but on the love and affection of its citizens, and "her prosperity must contribute to the prosperity of surrounding nations and to the stability and safety of the world."

It seems strange at this day that there ever could have been an hour when Canning could, in an official capacity, have given the slightest countenance to the doctrines enunciated at Vienna, Troppau, or Laybach, but he, finding that Canning had already so far committed the government to the course which the holy alliance had adopted, acquiesced in their system of legislation, but afterward denied the wisdom and refused to be bound by their decrees.

One of the principal topics at the second congress of Vienna, at which the Duke of Wellington was selected as England's plenipotentiary, was the affair between Russia and the Porte. He was ill when it occurred, and he did not reach there until it was ready to adjourn to Verona, to take up the difficulties at that time existing in the Italian peninsula, but he attended the festival at Verona, and combated almost everything that the monarchs proposed or brought forward.

It would be interesting to take up the subjects that were then discussed and the methods pursued, as they would be in striking contrast with our system of modern legislation and were confined to no state

Canning refused to submit the grievances which England suffered from her neighbors to the jurisdiction of the holy alliance, or to even ask permission of it to proceed as she saw fit. He chose to deal directly with all offenders and to conduct the foreign office as became a great and powerful nation.

When France was about to engage in a war with Spain in 1822 Canning wrote a long dispatch to the French government, in which he summarized all the past occurrences and pointed out where the forbearance on the part of England would cease, and said an attack on Portugal, a design of a permanent military occupation of Spain on the part of France, or attempt to bring under dominion any of the Spanish-American colonies, either by conquest or cession, were, perhaps, the only contingencies the occurrence of which could possibly bring Great Britain into collision with France.

The biographer of Mr. Canning in speaking of this says that it will be noticed that "Mr. Canning merely observed that the English government was satisfied that France would take care that these contingencies should not occur, but it is obvious that under that suavity of expression was implied an 'or' which imported another and a hostile alternative."

The policy which was at that time enunciated was that "England should hold the balance, not only between contending nations, but between conflicting principles."

President Cleveland and Mr. Olney, with only a slight difference in verbiage, announce the same thing in discussing the Venezuela question with Lord Salisbury.

Mr. Stapleton says that Mr. Canning possessed the most exalted notions in regard to the true mission of his country, and "loudly proclaimed that while Great Britain stood so high among the nations of the world, her own dignity and character required her to assist and protect weaker nations against oppression, not only so far as that assistance could be afforded consistently with her own interests, but so far as it was not absolutely incompatible with her own security."

"It was from the public avowal of doctrines such as these by the best and most enlightened of the British statesmen and from the success of those statesmen in persuading the country to act up to their spirit that the British name became revered throughout the continent of Europe."

We shall not undertake to give in detail what transpired at any of the various congresses which were convened and conducted by the members of the holy alliance, but there never was greater heartlessness displayed by any set of men since the world existed than by these titled and sanctimonious villains.

They cared nothing for peoples, nor their wishes nor welfare.

First Business Session.

At their very first session for business they formed a new basis, that is, a compromise and readjustment of the lines and boundaries of all the neighboring countries, as well as a redistribution of the various territories according to their wants and desires. The territory which became a subject of contention between England and Sweden was first distributed, but Poland, Prussia and Saxony were soon to please, and the Germans, who had attained their independence after years of suffering and oppression, were deprived of their independence and given over to their ancient oppressors (Sardinia)



Venice, which, after the treaty of Campo-Formio, Austria had deprived of independence as a reward for having been faithful to her in the war preceding that treaty, but which she subsequently had been compelled to cede to Napoleon, was again made over to Austria. More than half of Saxony, in spite of the protestations of its sovereign and the lamentations of its people, was granted to Prussia, and Poland was for the third time made the subject of partition between her original spoiler, although she was not for the first time so divided with the countenance and sanction of Great Britain.

Lord Castlereagh represented Great Britain at that congress and when called upon to explain on what principle they proceeded said that the first object which they had in view was to effect the re-establishment and reorganization of those two great monarchies, Austria and Prussia, which to all practical purposes had been destroyed during the war, and the next was to establish "flanks and rears" to those great states, and that they did not stop to consider how these might affect the weaker states, for they were not there to administer justice or to guard their independence or watch over their interests or protect them from aggression.

This statement was something of an eye-opener to all who were not in the secrets of these earthly vicereigns, who thus undertook to seal the doom of nations, and was received with roars of obloquy.

It was not to be wondered at that those who saw no signs of Christian morality in the partition of their neighbors' territories should think that some purposes were intended to be served by this holy alliance, for the safe disclosure of which the time had not yet arrived, or that it was a confederacy of villains bent on nothing but robbery and spoliation.

The exaltation of religious sentiments and proclamations of piety were mere pretences to hide their real purposes, and in a few months the monarchs caused it to be officially announced that their real object in combining and pooling their issues was "to preserve what is legally established, and that thrones could not be made into puppets with at their soldiery proved recreant to their trust and engaged in that pastime themselves. That their policy was to teach the people obedience, that useful or necessary changes in legislation and in the administration of states ought only to emanate from the free will and the intelligent and well-weighed conviction of those whom God has rendered responsible for power."

Conspiracy Against Liberty.

In other words, the holy alliance which was formed with such devotion had two objects in view: one was the preservation of royal dynasties and the other to put down all political movements that should originate with the people. It was, in fact, nothing more nor less than a gigantic conspiracy against constitutional liberty and the principle of human freedom, and was designed to suppress all of the aspirations of those who were struggling for the common and fraternal rights of man. It threatened at least a temporary suspension of the liberties of the civilized world.

The events which succeeded this conspiracy showed that those who were engaged in it never intended to redeem their pledges,

and that they intended to maintain the peace of Europe by sacrificing all who stood in their way, and would, if necessary, destroy by force all who fostered revolutions, or even attempted to ameliorate the condition of the people by adopting any course which might lead to the establishment of free institutions.

It was not long before they had an opportunity to put their principles into practice. As a portion of the army of Spain, ill clothed and ill fed, was about to embark on board of a fleet of ships not seaworthy for so long a voyage, they mutinied.

This was a sufficient pretense to send an expedition to the peninsula to put down a threatened insurrection and teach the people obedience.

The Neapolitans became dissatisfied and engaged in an insurrection. The representatives of the holy alliance appeared in the streets of Naples and a forcible alteration of that government took place, and then they turned their attention to Sicily and Portugal.

A new constitution was proclaimed at Oporto and a junta was established in that city. The Italians, the Poles, the Bohemians and the Hungarians and the liberal Austrians were threatened, and the history of the continent teems with accounts of uprisings suppressed, of insurrections smothered and revolutions forcibly put down. Territories were divided up, kingdoms blotted out and rulers dethroned to make way for others by armies acting under the celestial combination, and a reign of terror was everywhere inaugurated. Austrian troops marched to the southern extremity of the Italian peninsula, and when they had finished their business there returned to the north by the way of Piedmont. To show the vigor of the allied powers it is recorded that they established an espionage in every city in Europe and kept swift messengers employed to carry the news of any revolt from one portion of the country to another, and that as soon as the occurrences of Turin became known at Laybach Austria set her troops in motion to restore by force of arms the ancient order of things, and Russia gave orders for the march of an army of 100,000 men to the south of Europe in case the Austrian troops should prove insufficient for their task. Armies of observation and cordons sanitaires were formed and stationed at many threatened points to keep out the moral infection which it was thought freedom might spread into the remote parts of their dominions, and when those who were directing affairs assembled at Troppau and Laybach it was found that the winds which they had inclosed so securely in a bag of their own construction had escaped, and Spanish America was in revolt and the entire North American continent refused to either recognize their authority or be bound by any of their arrangements.

They found, moreover, that the principles which they were galled by were defested and that they could only be propagated and maintained by the sword.

At this juncture, Conde d'Alia, the Spanish minister of foreign affairs, sent a note to all the members of the holy alliance for a conference on Spanish American affairs to be held at Paris. "In order," as he said, "to aid Spain in adjusting the affairs of the revolted colonies." The allied sovereigns were ready as usual to meet and consider how they might boss America as they had bossed Europe, but England demurred and began to argue the question at great length with both France and Spain.



Chateaubriand, who undertook to present the French view of the subject, wrote a long essay in which he upheld the policy of governing the world by a system of congresses, and that the times were favorable for obtaining a large measure of control over the affairs in the western world, but Canning informed him that he evidently did not understand the force and effect of such a proceeding, and if persisted in would lead to greater entanglement than anything which the holy alliance had yet encountered, and that so far as Great Britain was concerned it had come to the conclusion that "it was not by incessant meddling with petty interests and domestic squabbles in other countries that the influence of Great Britain was to be maintained. On the contrary, it was more likely to be frittered away by such restless exertion, and to be found exhausted or disabled from acting when real occasion should arise."

England and the Spanish Republics.

Canning had, as early as August, 1823, sounded Mr. Rush, the United States minister to England, in regard to the proper course which ought to be pursued toward the Spanish republics, and he had found that he was substantially in accord with him in regard to them. Mr. Canning had gone so far as to draw up a formal memorandum of the points involved, and he had stated the English position in clear and unmistakable terms as follows:

1. The English government conceived the recovery of the colonies by Spain to be hopeless.
2. It conceived the question of the recognition of them to be one of time and circumstances.
3. It was, however, by no means disposed to throw any impediment in the way of an arrangement between them and the mother country by amicable negotiations.
4. It aimed not at the possession of any portion of them for Great Britain.
5. And it could not see any part of them transferred to any other power with indifference.

These were its opinions and its feelings, and if they were shared by the government of the United States why, asked Mr. Canning, should they not be mutually confided to each other and declared in the face of the world.

"A proceeding of this nature," continued Mr. Canning, "would be at once the most effectual and the least offensive mode of intimating the joint disapprobation of Great Britain and the United States. Of any projects which might be cherished by any European power of a forcible enterprise for reducing the colonies to subjection on the behalf or in the name of Spain, or the acquisition of any part of them to itself by cession or conquest."

Mr. Rush talked the matter over with Mr. Canning very fully, but as he was not authorized to engage in making common cause with Mr. Canning against the holy alliance by uniting with him in issuing a joint proclamation, Mr. Rush advised him to recognize their independence as the United States had, and then there would be no necessity whatever of doing anything further, except to see that they were not interfered with or their governments overthrown and destroyed by their enemies abroad, which were represented by the holy alliance.

The matter dropped here and Canning turned his attention to Prince de Polignac, and presented to him the same views that he had to Mr. Rush, using the same brief, but they were of no avail, and the question did not seem to be one easy of settlement, but would, as Mr. Polignac said, be submitted to the holy alliance for their determination.

Precedent for President Cleveland.

When Canning could not prevail upon France to join with England in a declaration of neutrality, Canning proceeded to appoint consular agents to every country in South America, and then selected commissioners to visit those countries and ascertain the true state of affairs at that time existing, and make report to him, precisely as President Cleveland has done in regard to Venezuela, and it is quite likely that there is where he gets his precedent for so doing.

About this time, and when the holy alliance was about to assemble at Paris and take up the matter of the Spanish republics as unfinished business, President Monroe's message of December, 1823, arrived in Europe and spread consternation among all the cabinets and disconcerted all the crowned heads and the celestial emissaries of the holy alliance to such an extent that they did not know exactly what to do. They considered it a great piece of impertinence for the President of the United States to usurp any of their prerogatives, and when he said that "any interference on the part of the great powers of Europe for the purpose of oppressing or controlling the destiny of the Spanish-American states, which had declared their independence, would be dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, and would be considered as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward them," they became at first speechless and then livid with rage.

Mr. Brougham, in referring to President Monroe's message in a speech in parliament, and its effect upon the holy alliance, said: "The question with regard to South America was now believed to be disposed of, or nearly so; for an event had recently happened then which no event had ever dispersed greater joy, exultation and gratitude over all the freemen of Europe; that event which was decisive on the subject was the language held with respect to Spanish America in the speech or message of the President of the United States," and he then expressed the opinion that "if the declaration of the United States did not put an end to such attempts on the independence of those colonies, if a vigorous resistance were not opposed to such machinations sooner or later, the liberties of those colonies would fall a sacrifice to the intrigues of Spain and the allied powers, and Mr. Stapleton, in his life of Canning, vol. 2, p. 47, says: "It appears, therefore, up to so late a period as February, 1824, in Mr. Brougham's opinion (and that only was more competent to form an opinion) that the Spanish-American states would sooner or later have lost their independence if the holy alliance, under the name of Spain, had been allowed to exert its powers as a nation." There is no doubt but what Canning's opposition to the conspiracy in which the holy alliance was engaged in connection with Spain was a most powerful factor in bringing up that



179
scheme, but it is also true that when that combination learned that the United States would meet them on the very shores of this continent and fight them to the death, they drew back and went into winter quarters.

Canning Agreed With Monroe.

Indeed, so much were Canning, Rush and Monroe in accord that when all the documents relating to this matter were laid before parliament Sir James Mackintosh said, in reference to them: "I can only describe them as containing a body of liberal maxims of policy and just principles of public law, expressed with a precision, a circumspection and a dignity which will always render them models and masterpieces of diplomatic composition.

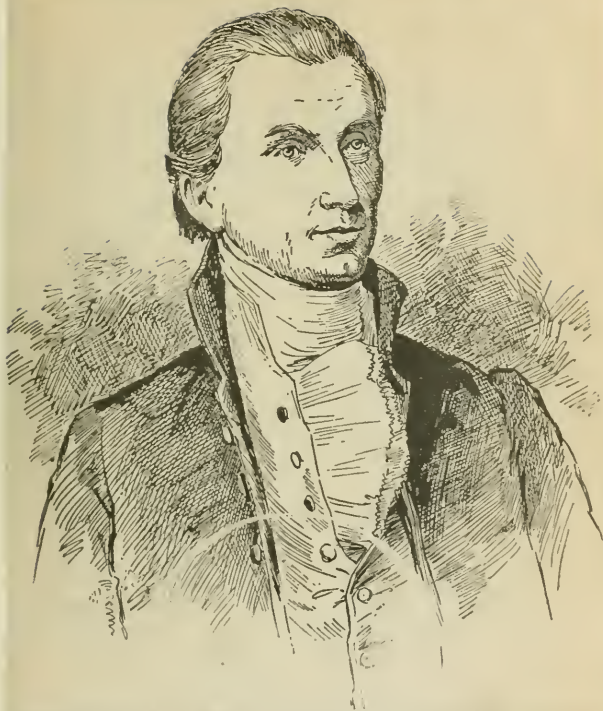
"From them seems to flow every consequence respecting the future, which I think most desirable."

The historian of these occurrences then says: "Although this language was not the consequence of any understanding with or of any suggestion of this country, it is impossible not to believe but that the correspondence which passed between Mr. Canning and Mr. Rush mainly encouraged, if it did not originate to the government of the United States the ideas of taking so firm and decisive a tone. So evident indeed was it that the language of this message was the consequence of that correspondence, Sir James Mackintosh, who probably had no knowledge of any correspondence having taken place, suggested the notion in parliament that the message was influenced by our communications. But whether this were so or not when coupled with the refusal of Great Britain to take part in a congress to be engineered by the holy alliance, it effectually put an end to the project of one similar to those which had met at Vienna, Aix-la-Chapelle, Laybach and Verona, and the crowned and anointed monarchs who sought to control the world went out of business so far as the continent of America is concerned for they had arrived at—

That last dread mood
Of sated lust and dull decrepitude,
No law, no art, no faith, no hope, no God,
When round the freezing fountains of life in peevish
ring,
Crouched on the bare worn sod,
Babbling about the unreturning spring,
And whining for dead creeds that cannot save,
The toothless nations shiver to their grave.

ELLIOTT ANTHONY.





THE AMERICAN CRISIS. — PRESIDENT MONROE, THE FATHER OF THE FAMOUS DOCTRINE.





ALARMING, BUT NOT SERIOUS.

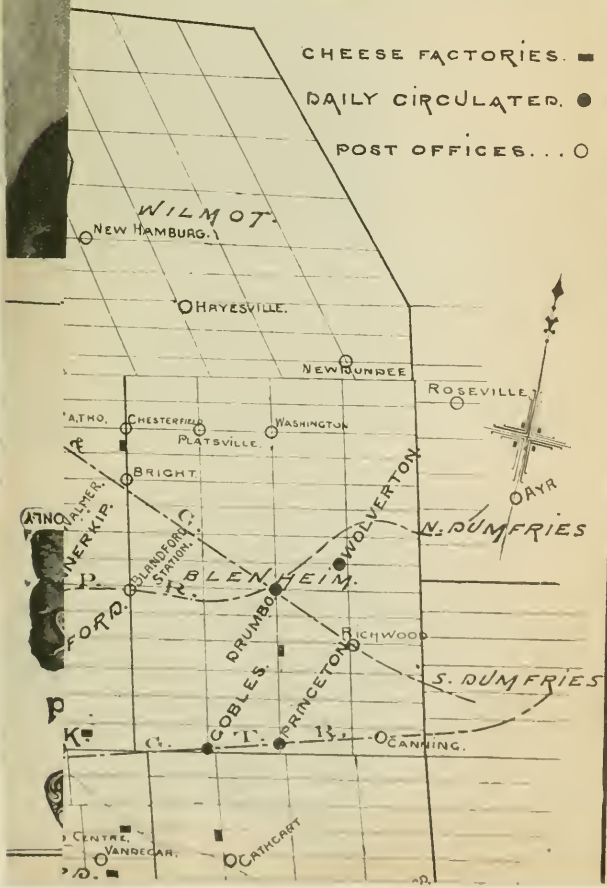
GENERAL CHORUS. — "Leave her alone, poor dear, and she'll soon come round; she's only suffering from too much Monroe Doet'ring."



AGENCY

WOODSTOCK, — — AND THE — FORD DAIRY DISTRICT.

CHEESE FACTORIES. ■
DAILY CIRCULATED. ●
POST OFFICES... ○





The Mail

APRIL 1, 1895.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

Senator Lodge Says Any Attempt to Violate the Integrity of South American Republics Must be Resisted—Great Britain Must be Ordered to Tremble.

Washington, March 31.—Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, who is to be one of the new Republican members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, in an interview yesterday said:—The Monroe doctrine, which is so vitally important to us, is either directly involved or else apparently threatened in the difficulties now existing in three Central and South American States. Guatemala has stopped payment on her bonds, which are largely held in England, and there are indications that England is contemplating taking vigorous steps to enforce the payment of interest to her bondholders. There seems to be no method by which this can be done except by seizure of territory, or by taking possession of Guatemalan revenue. Either of these sources of action would be a violation of the Monroe doctrine, and could not possibly be permitted by the United States. We cannot permit the establishment of any British protectorate in Central America, or the repetition there of England's action in Egypt. If England is permitted to use force in protecting her bondholders, in a very short time she might get control of a number of South American States, the debts of which are chiefly held in London.

The Guatemalan affairs, however, have not yet reached an acute stage, as happened in Nicaragua. In the case of Nicaragua, Great Britain demands an indemnity for injuries to her Consular representative, and to British citizens and property. No one denies the right of England, or any other country, to exact an indemnity from a foreign nation for injuries inflicted upon her citizens, but the method of obtaining that indemnity is all-important. If it is to be secured by treaty, we, of course, have nothing to say; but if, in order to get an indemnity from Nicaragua, England proceeds either to seize territory, or to take in any way partial or complete control of the Nicaraguan Government, an infraction of the Monroe doctrine at once occurs, to which the United States cannot possibly submit.

In Venezuela the case is even more serious than anywhere else. The Monroe doctrine has been actually violated, and it is owing to our neglect that the situation has arisen. For a long period England has been pushing forward, under one pretext or another, the boundary of Guiana, and absorbing Venezuelan territory which the Venezuelan Government was too weak to prevent. This seizure of territory has

been mere aggression on the part of Great Britain, with the well-defined purpose of getting control of the mouth of the Orinoco—a matter of grave importance, like all great waterways, to the extension of British commerce, of which England never loses sight.

This continuous and increasing seizure of territory is an infringement on the Monroe doctrine of the worst kind, for it is establishing European authority over American territory not lawfully in the possession of England at the time of the declaration by Mr. Adams of the Monroe doctrine. Vigorous steps should be taken to stop this seizure of territory at once. The right and proper policy of the Administration in regard to all these matters is perfectly simple. Our Ambassador to England should be instructed to say in the plainest and firmest manner that the United States regards any infraction of the Monroe doctrine as an act of hostility, and will resist any such infraction to the utmost. If the Administration should take this ground, which is clearly right and in accordance with every tradition of American policy, these questions would soon be settled. There is no danger in the situation at all, except from weakness or hesitation on the part of our Government. If we are perfectly firm, the whole matter will be settled rightly and peaceably, but any paltering with the American policy and the Monroe doctrine may not only involve us in the most serious dangers, but may cause losses to our commercial prosperity and injuries to our rights and our honour and power as a nation which can never be repaired.

183



184

THE SUNDAY TIMES-HERALD,

CHICAGO, JANUARY 19, 1896.

MEANS NO MENACE

Great Britain Anxious for Amity
With the United States.

SHIPS BOUND FOR TURKEY

Entente Entered Into With Russia
to Coerce the Porte.

AMERICA'S PLAN ABANDONED.

Fleet Not to Be Sent to the Bosphorus to
Collect the Indemnity — Why
Cuba Is Not Recognized.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 18.—It is believed in state and navy department circles here that the English flying squadron is going to the Mediterranean. If this proves to be a correct surmise the significance of it is that the much talked of understanding between Russia and Great Britain has been consummated and that the Turk is to be brought to book.

It is pointed out by naval officers that, while the squadron was undoubtedly assembled for the purpose of making a demonstration of force against Germany, now that the tension between England and the German emperor is greatly reduced the squadron could easily be spared to go to the Levant. If it should be suddenly needed off the coast of South Africa at Delagoa Bay, for instance, it could be dispatched thence from the coast of Asia Minor much more quickly than from Portsmouth or Bermuda. The route to Delagoa Bay via the Suez Canal is shorter than the outside course via Good Hope by about a thousand knots. This being so, the admiralty would lose no advantage of position by sending this fleet to the Turkish waters, but would, on the contrary, make a distinct gain should it be found necessary to adopt aggressive measures in the direction of South Africa.

No American Fleet for the Bosphorus.

There is a strong hope here that the English fleet is under orders to go to the entrance to the Dardanelles, and that Russia and Great Britain have at last reached an understanding. It is admitted by high officials of this government, who are fully acquainted with all that has been done or contemplated by the administration, and with the views of the President, that this government can do nothing to help the situation in Turkey. The project of sending a fleet to Turkish waters for the purpose of collecting the indemnity demanded for the destruction of American mission buildings at Harpoot, which was at the time under serious consideration, has at last been abandoned. The report made by the experts of the navy department as to the difficulty likely to be encountered in case of opposition from the Turks has been pigeon-holed, and it is not likely to be again considered.

There were strong temptations to institute an aggressive policy, but it was seen that to capture Smyrna or Alexandretta would require a pretty large naval force, larger than the United States would care to devote to the purpose while the Venezuelan question was still unsettled, and prudence dictated having in hand but one serious affair at a time. If the administration had decided upon an attempt to capture the Island of Candia from the Turks, Assistant Secretary McAdoo estimated that in addition to the ships 10,000 marines or troops would be required. From any point of view the contract was a larger one than the President felt this country could safely enter upon and the matter has been abandoned.

There is, however, a decided hope that the two chief treaty powers, England and Russia, will take up the work. It is surmised that Secretary Olney has had correspondence with the foreign offices of those governments, and that he has become satisfied an aggressive movement is to be made within a short time. If England were to advance upon Constantinople from the water side and the czar were to make a demonstration on the eastern border, not far from the seat of the principal disturbances, doubtless the porte could soon be brought to any terms which the powers wished to impose.

Suffolkshire Anxious for Amity.

There never has been any fear on the part of the President or Secretary Olney that the flying squadron was under orders to sail to the Bermudas, the Bahamas, to any other American waters or station. That would naturally be regarded as an act of aggression upon Venezuela, considering all circumstances, and also as a menace to the United States. The fact is the state department was advised by Ambassador Payand, as soon as the first rumor of the squadron having been ordered to the Bermudas was



put in circulation, that the foreign office had assured him such was not the case. It is also known that the foreign office is exceedingly anxious to cultivate cordial relations with Washington, and that instead of going out of his way to affront or alarm this country, Lord Salisbury would turn aside not a little from any preconceived programme in order to assure the United States of his pacific intentions.

In this connection I am able to say that the fact of the sympathies of the Washington government being on the side of England in the affair between that country and Germany over the Transvaal episode is known to Lord Salisbury and his associates, and has produced an excellent impression in London. The intelligence of the President's views on this affair was communicated to the foreign office informally by Ambassador Bayard, and was gratefully received. All the indications are that a most friendly feeling has been cultivated between the two governments. Since the President's message was sent to congress nothing has occurred to increase the tension, while several events have occurred opportunely and have been made use of deliberately by Secretary Olney to cultivate mutual confidence and esteem.

Settlement on Venezuela Desired.

It is the belief of the President and his associates that Lord Salisbury and his conferees are now looking anxiously about for some method of approaching a settlement of the Venezuelan affair, and they would not be surprised if it were to come in the form of a request to this government to exercise its good offices in inducing the Venezuelans to invite Great Britain to a re-establishment of diplomatic relations. This once done, a scheme of settlement, either by joint commission or by direct arbitration, could follow in course of time.

It may be announced by authority that the North Atlantic squadron of Admiral Bunce was held in Hampton Roads by order of the President for pacific and not warlike reasons. The squadron had been under orders to sail early in December for the Caribbean Sea for a winter cruise. Though this was the usual

practice of our navy, the President felt that in the presence of the dispute between England and this country over the Monroe doctrine the dispatch of the fleet to waters adjacent to Venezuela would be deemed an act of aggression upon Great Britain, and the sailing orders were rescinded. This is the true explanation of the failure of the squadron to sail on its regular winter cruise in southern waters.

This fact is known in London, and unless Lord Salisbury wanted war with the United States he would not be likely to repay this act of courtesy and caution by sending his flying squadron to American waters. It may also be said that if the British fleet or any other considerable squadron should be sent to these waters it will not be done until after the English government has given reasons therefor to the Washington authorities. By the same

token the United States would not now send Admiral Bunce's fleet to the Caribbean Sea without first giving an explanation of its peaceful mission to Lord Salisbury.

Menace in the Senate Resolution.

President Cleveland is well satisfied that the only cloud over the Venezuelan situation is that produced by the ill-advised action of the senate committee on foreign relations, which has formulated a declaration of the Monroe doctrine which will certainly be offensive to England and which almost as certainly will be rejected by a number of American powers. The President has endeavored to induce the committee to modify its declaration, but without success. The resolution of Senator Davis will be reported to the senate Monday, and, if the programme is carried out, it will be pressed for passage. The administration will oppose it with whatever strength it can summon in the senate and again in the house. The President will do this because he believes it a dangerous doctrine and because he thinks it particularly dangerous and troublesome just at this moment.

I have high authority for the statement that this unnecessary and bumptious interpretation of the Monroe doctrine is the only difficulty, so far as our side of the case is concerned, now in the way of a peaceful settlement with Great Britain. If congress adopts the declaration no one will expect to see Lord Salisbury make the first advance toward settlement. It is a doctrine which the government of Great Britain will never recognize and which it could not recognize without surrendering its self-respect.

Would Embarrass the President.

In case the resolution passes both branches of congress the President will have to face the ordeal of signing it or vetoing it. Probably this is what the republicans of the senate are aiming at. They take the view that Mr. Cleveland has been playing politics with foreign affairs and want to know why they have not a right to enter the game. Probably no one would object if their maneuvers tended to assist a peaceful and satisfactory solution, but the country must have a decided opinion as to the value of a political play which places an obstacle in the way of peace.

The republicans thought themselves very smart when they patched up this scheme to embarrass the administration. They said to themselves: "Mr. Cleveland is gaining a lot of glory out of the jingo business. Let us go him one better. If he signs the advanced doctrine we get the credit. If he vetoes it we put him in a hole and expose him before the country as one who is not willing to uphold the simon-pure Monroe doctrine." From an exceedingly narrow and lowly standpoint this may be smart politics, but it is very poor politics in the eyes of men who think good politics consists of doing the right thing for the welfare of the country at the right time.

Could Not Be Universally Applied.

The President and his secretary of state admit that the principle which their proposition to a treaty may be one of the most important one to the country, but they contend that it is not a principle which admits of universal application, and that, therefore, no hard and fast rule can be set up. A case in point and of great timely interest was brought forward to-day by a member of the cabinet in discussing this



situation. He said if Spain were to attempt to sell Cuba to any other foreign power, the United States would at once interpose the Monroe doctrine, and the very form of that doctrine which the republican senators wish to declare, with the solemnity and binding force of a congressional enactment.

"This nation would fight before it would permit Cuba to go to any other European power, by purchase or any other means," said the cabinet officer. "But while the principle is sound when applied to acquisitions of territory which are of great importance, it is absurd when applied, or attempted to be applied, to small tracts of land whose cession from one power to another would not involve any outside interest. No one would be more swift than the President to say to England that it could not purchase Cuba, or any considerable territory in Nicaragua, or the mouth of the Amazon, or perhaps even the Orinoco, but he does not want a principle declared in a form which is so extreme as to be ridiculous and to defeat wholly the object in view. Whether he would or would not veto such a resolution is a serious matter from all points of view, but I incline to the opinion that he would."

There is no danger of Cuba being sold to any other European power. Foreign governments understand quite as well as we do that this island, if it once leaves the possession of Spain, must become independent or a part of the United States. There is every reason to believe that England and Germany, the only powers to be feared as colonizers, would not enter upon any negotiations for the purchase of Cuba. Neither of them cares to buy a war with the United States. Besides, the statesmen of both countries recognize that the transfer of a mass of land like Cuba, guarding the entrance to the Gulf of Mexico, would involve such a redistribution of territory and strategic advantage and constitute such a menace to the safety and prestige of the United States that it would be destructive of the balance of power in this hemisphere. No government on earth would deny the right of the United States to resist such a disturbance of the conditions surrounding its territory.

Why There Is Delay on Cuba.

Great pressure is being brought upon the administration to induce some action concerning Cuba, but the President adheres to his determination, formed some time ago, not to recognize the belligerent rights of the insurgents. At the request of the Cuban delegate here, and also after conference with the chairman of the foreign affairs committee of congress, Secretary Olney has made another careful examination of the whole subject. He has studied the voluminous documents sent him, has reviewed the diplomatic precedents, and he confesses his inability to find any substantial reason why the insurgents should be recognized. Recognition is given not as the right of the revolutionists, but for the advantage of the government according to it. In this case the disadvantage to the United States would be great. It would involve new responsibilities and dangers to our peace. In taking this position the administration follows the example set by President Grant and Secretary Fish in 1875, when Cuba had been in rebellion eight or nine years.

A refusal to give executive recognition, however, does not mean that the administration is opposed to Cuban independence. At the proper time the President will take ac-

tion, and when he does act the results will not be doubtful. It is true that there exists a tacit understanding between Spain and this government that during the winter season Spain shall be left free to prosecute her campaign in Cuba without danger of interference by the United States, but it is just as well understood that if by the middle of May or 1st of June, when the rainy season sets in again, the rebellion has not been crushed, this country will directly intervene. This statement I am able to make semi-officially.

For this reason the Madrid government has decided upon a last and most desperate effort to restore order in Cuba. Martin z Campos has proved a failure with his pacific policy, and now a man of blood and iron is to take charge of the campaign. Harsh and vigorous measures are to take the place of Campos' policy of inactivity. The Cuban

agents here say the change of administration at Havana is a confession of weakness on the part of Spain. They say it is worth a dozen battles to them, but a different view is held by others familiar with the situation.

No one believes for a moment that Gomez could have overrun practically the whole of Cuba if Campos had been active and aggressive. Campos has from the first believed other than military measures would be necessary to crush out the rebellion. He has understood better than anyone in Madrid, perhaps, that the insurrection is almost entirely so far in the hands of blacks and adventurers, but that the Cubans of wealth and character sympathize with the end in view, though not with the means employed. These Cubans, the planters and professional men, are nearly all members of the autonomist party. They believe in agitation, not in violence. They want Cuba governed by Spain as Canada is governed by England. They have not joined the revolution. General Campos, thoroughly familiar with every phase of public sentiment in the island, has known that a harsh and cruel policy on his part would drive these autonomists into the revolution and with them in it Spain's rule would not last ninety days.

Attitude of the Autonomists.

Spain's change of tone indicates the presence of a crisis. If the new captain general institutes harsh measures, if he permits prisoners to be murdered, if he punishes non-combatants, if he imitates the example of the commanders who preceded Campos in the ten years' war, the autonomists will abandon politics and go into war. That will seal the fate of Cuba. The rebellion cannot be crushed and when the winter is over and the rains come on again the United States will intervene and independence will follow.

The problem in Cuba is simply this: Can a vigorous and successful military programme be carried out without alienating the former Spanish party from its quasi-alliance to the Spanish cause? In this case, on a practical statement comes from Havana by mail. It is to the effect that before the revolution broke General Campos consulted with the leaders of the autonomists, the reform and conservative parties, and that all but the autonomist leaders expressed their consent to the new Spanish rule. The autonomists were well pleased, inasmuch as they did not want home rule and if they did not want home content with new masters, they asked why they were ruled with Campos' government of the camp.



respective, being Spaniards or the subjects of Spain, and intensely anxious for a continuance of the present order of things or for moderate constitutional reforms, were naturally in favor of a change that would look toward suppression of the rebellion.

If the new captain general can hold the home rulers then he will have to whip the blacks and their leaders, and he will have to do so before the next rainy season sets in. The Cubans in Washington are confident this cannot be done, and they think the disappearance of Campos from the field will bring on political quarrels in the cabinet at Madrid and also weaken Spain's credit to such an extent that it will find it impossible to borrow more money. In official circles here there is a strong belief that the insurgents will manage to hold out till spring, and that then Cuba is likely to be lost to Spain forever.

Preventing Hasty Action by Congress.

Meanwhile Senator Sherman in the senate and Mr. Hitt in the house are sitting on the Cuban safety-valve and squelching resolutions for recognition, at the request of the President. They are both getting tired of their task, so great is the pressure for action, and a compromise is now talked of. It is proposed to permit congress to make some expression of sympathy with the cause of free Cuba which can be used for moral effect and to strengthen the courage of the patriots without involving this government in complications with Spain. Such action would be a mere expression of opinion by the men who happen to sit in congress, and would have no other significance. The prerogative of recognition, either of sovereignty or belligerency, rests with the executive.

The attitude of the administration is one thing at a time. After Venezuela, Cuba.

WALTER WELLMAN.

DAVIS RESOLUTION CAUSES COMMENT

Its Friends Assert It Will Prevent Embarrassments in the Future.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 18.—The Davis resolution interpreting the Monroe doctrine, the main features of which were given in these dispatches this morning, has caused considerable comment among senators and other public men. It is known that it is the intention of the senate committee to make the resolution declare what is the utmost limit to which the Monroe doctrine can be applied.

In answer to the report that there is some opposition to the declaration by the United States of what the Monroe doctrine covered, it is said by the advocates of the Davis resolution that every time a question arises in which the Monroe doctrine is involved, some foreign government interested makes the point that the Monroe doctrine is nothing but an action which never has been adopted by the American congress or approved by the American people. It is claimed that once the declaration is formally adopted by congress it will settle forever the question of foreign aggression on the American continent.

The reports concerning the British flying squadron stirred up the friends of the resolution, and they declared that it the rumor that it is bound for Bermuda were confirmed,

efforts should be made to call up the resolution and pass it through the senate as soon as possible, even to the displacement of the silver bill. It is said by men prominent in foreign affairs in congress that England could not make a grater mistake than to send her fleet to Bermuda.

One of the most pronounced advocates of the American doctrine said to-day that the American people were slow to rise, but that they would rise with their whole strength anything that could be construed into a menace. Continuing, he said that in the Transvaal and other troubles the United States had refrained from aiding to Great Britain's embarrassment, but if the great fleet assembled at Portsmouth was to be sent to waters adjacent to America, instead of serving to make the United States hesitate in the matter of a declaration of enforcement of the Monroe doctrine, it would have the opposite effect. The United States, by the Davis resolution, he added, would make it very clear that under no circumstances will any violation of the Monroe doctrine be allowed.

It is agreed by all senators that the most important part of the Davis resolution is that which asserts that the United States shall be the sole judge as to whether the Monroe doctrine has been violated in any arbitration or agreement or in the settlement of a boundary dispute between a foreign government and a government on the American continent. It is pointed out by those who favor this part of the resolution that it meets the criticism made to the portion of the President's message stating that any agreement made between Great Britain and Venezuela could not be objected to by the United States. The extreme advocates of the Monroe doctrine, as interpreted by the Davis resolution, say that this is necessary in order to prevent any de facto government which may be in power in some South American country for a short time from bartering away a portion of its territory. It was also stated in this connection that the time may arrive when Spain would agree to sell Cuba to England, and congress should proclaim a law that such a sale or cession would be contrary to the Monroe doctrine and an act unfriendly to the United States on the part of the country making the acquisition.

The resolution will be presented to the senate on Monday, but it may be that it will not be called up for several days. There is no doubt that it will be discussed at length whenever brought before the senate, as it is understood that considerable opposition will be manifested to it, and especially to that part which makes the United States the judge of the validity of any arbitration or agreement. It is asserted by the opponents of the resolution that such a declaration is bound to lead to entanglements.

The resolution is framed to cover not only the case of Venezuela, but also that of Honduras, which, it is said, will soon engage the attention of the world. In the Honduras case it is said that the claim of Great Britain goes back as far as the time of Charles II, when a grant to cut mail was given to some woodchoppers.



188

THE SUNDAY TIMES-HERALD,

CHICAGO, JANUARY 19, 1896.

NEW AMER

PI-

WHETHER politics be a science, as some contend, or an art, as others maintain, to make sentiment the determining and formative principle of its policy is a luxury no state can indulge in with impunity. We may like it or not—the experience of ages proves it to be a fact. History teems with impressive object lessons and we have added to the long array one of the most impressive by the way in which we have treated the Venezuela controversy. If the sea of international relations is to be navigated with safety and to advantage, all the hard facts must be the chart and the true interests the needle by which the ship of state is steered by steady hands, guided by clear and unimpassioned eyes. Carried off our mental and moral balance by emotion we have blurred the chart and pushed the needle awry, setting all the sails to the bracing lusty breeze of sentiment and glorying in the inspiring power with which the keen prow cut through the foaming billows. But the exultant shout of self-conscious prowess and might was still ringing in our intoxicated ears, when the breakers into which we were plunging dashed its sobering cold spray into our faces.

Penalty as a Blessing in Disguise.

It was a blessing in disguise that the penalty we have been made to pay for disregarding the prime rule of sound statecraft was so heavy and exacted at once. It is only too sure that there is still a long tail to the bill which nothing we can do now can release us from. But if the punishment had been more tardy and less severe there is no telling what calamities we should ultimately have called down upon our heads by pursuing the wrong course so far that it would have become practically impossible to retrace our steps. And, much as it has and will still cost us, we shall not have paid too high a price for the lesson if we but learn it well enough to keep us from repeating the mistake. For, grave as the Venezuelan rebellion is, it is by no means what ought to concern us the most. A symptom it is of infinitely greater mo-

of this description.

A number of brilliant terpsichorean features have been arranged under the direction of Amelto Coccia. Anna de Beasi, Emilia Bartoletti, a newcomer from the Theater Constanza, Rome, and Signorita Adele Amore are the principal dancers engaged. The dances are reported to be new and striking, the most popular one being "The Dance of the Fools" in the first act, which is the national folly dance, a travesty on "L'Enfant Prodigieux"; the "Queens of the Ballet" is followed by a burlesque on this feature, *from which* ment than in itself. If we merely care that this storm blow over we shall be derelict in our duty to ourselves and to humankind. We must have the mental discernment and the moral courage to lay bare the deeper causes that have raised it. We can do nothing that is more helpful toward getting us with untarnished honor and unharmed interests out of the present crisis, and it is the only thing that can guard us against being plunged into a deeper one at the next opportunity.

It is no pleasant task, for, to attain the end, we must probe to the quick. On the other hand, it is for this reason imperative to refrain from whatever needlessly irritates. Bitter taunts, cutting sarcasm, scathing invective, uncharitable impugning of motives are two-edged and poisoned weapons. Whoever resorts to them lays himself open to the suspicion of being by no means sure that the facts and the arguments are not with the other side. By vituperation and obloquy the minority will not make a single convert nor the majority be saved from ultimate defeat. Be it never so great, defeated it will be, unless it is right about the facts and its arguments are sound. That is Jeffersonian, that is American doctrine! Truth is sure to prevail if it is left free to combat error. The minority—to use a formula famous in church history and substituting "people" for "pope"—appeals a populo male informato ad populum nichus informandum, strong in the unshaken belief that in this case as so often before the American people will not hesitate to reverse their first verdict after they have been better informed.

President's Case Is Bad.

Facts outweigh arguments. No rational person can dispute that, and to admit it is to admit that the prima-facie aspect of the President's case is as bad as it well can be. The whole argumentation of the dispatch of Mr. Olney to Lord Salisbury and of Mr. Cleveland's message, so far as it undertakes to prove the right and the duty of the United States to take the course recommended in the closing paragraphs of that state paper, falls flat before the fact that the Venezuela boundary controversy



the direct offspring of a boundary dispute of much older date—is of more than fifty years' standing. If the Monroe doctrine applies to it now it must have applied to it from the first, and if it has not applied to it half a century it cannot apply to it now. If the administration is right in contending that it does apply, we have the marvelous spectacle that a keen-witted people like the American needs more than half a century to find out that a basic principle of their international policy is involved in a certain issue. What plausible explanation could be offered for such an astounding phenomenon?

If anyone has attempted to meet this question with a plain and straightforward answer, it has escaped my notice. But let us suppose that a satisfactory answer can be given. That would not touch in the least the real issue between the President and those who condemn his course. Grant for argument's sake that the Venezuela controversy did from the outset come within the pale of the Monroe doctrine, it would still remain an incontestable historical fact that for over half a century it has never occurred to the American people that the national honor or vital national interests were at stake in it, though they have been far from ignoring it. They have given it their earnest attention these many years, unstintingly lending their good offices to bring about an amicable settlement between the parties. But that in case they failed to attain this laudable end the supreme duties of self-preservation and of vindicating the national honor would make it imperative that they set themselves up as inappealable judge and give the parties solemn official warning that submission to their sovereign judgment would in case of need be enforced by war, they never dreamed of before.

Will the indorsers of the President's course contend that for nearly two generations the American people were blind to what self-preservation required and lost to the sense of national honor? Surely not. There is, however, only one other way in which that incontestable fact can be effectively disposed of by them. Be the cloud of circumlocution never so dense in which they try to conceal it to themselves as well as to others, their whole argument stands in the air, unless its foundation is the assumption: (1.) that self-preservation now demands what fifty years ago could be safely dispensed with, and (2.) that the national honor is now something different from what it was from 1817 down to 1895, or that it at least imposes other and vastly greater obligations upon the nation. Will either proposition bear examination?

The change wrought by time within the last fifty-five years in regard to what solicited for their self-preservation requires of the United States has indeed been great enough territory to carve two or three empires from has been added to the national domain, the population has grown from 17,000,000 to 70,000,000, the ma-

terial wealth has increased almost beyond calculation and the union has ceased to be "a house divided against itself."

It is, therefore, surely more than odd to hear at this late day the plea of self-preservation entered by our government in connection with this question. Even in the forties the very schoolboys would have hooted it down as a ridiculous absurdity and resented it as a gross insult if it had been suggested by England as the proper ground for us to take. The reasoning by which the secretary of state supports this plea of self-preservation is—I disclaim all personal disrespect in saying it—palpably self-contradictory and specious in the extreme. He begs the question when he asks me through Mr. Wellman whether I do not admit that society must guard against "the principle of stealing." Irrespective of the value of what is stolen, for, as the President says, in so many words, we do not know whether England is not entitled to all she claims and a fortiori we have no right to assume that she proposes to "steal" anything.

He again begs the question by fulminating for "European nonintervention in American affairs," for this Venezuela dispute is not merely an American but also most legitimately an English affair, British Guiana, with its uncertain boundary, being a legitimate English possession antedating the promulgation of the Monroe doctrine.

He again begs the question when he says that our superiority would be imperiled "if the principle be admitted that European powers may convert American states into colonies or provinces of their own" for neither does England attempt to do that, nor does anybody propose to admit this principle.

He again begs the question when he declares "what one power was permitted to do could not be denied to another," for if the United States were to conclude that it is not their interest to interfere in this question that would not diminish by one jot the right they have in common with every sovereign state to pursue in every international question whatever policy they deem meet. He substitutes for the logic of the statesman reasoning upon the facts the logic of the schoolman reasoning in the face of all the facts upon abstract possibilities when he writes: "It is not inconceivable that the struggle now going on for the acquisition of Africa might be transferred to South America. If it were, the weaker countries would unquestionably be soon absorbed, while the ultimate result might be the partition of all South America between the various European powers." With the exception of Patagonia, South America consists of states with a recognized international entity, while a vast part of Africa is still *terra nullius*, and above all there is the tremendous fact of the existence of the United States with its incontestable and antedated right Monroe doctrine or no Monroe doctrine in every African contest they will



Transcends Napoleon in Audacity.

It would be easy thus to go on for a long time, but on this head of "self-preservation" Mr. Olney has refuted himself so effectually that his opponents need not take any notice of the details of his argument. So long as yes is not no and no is not yes, his astounding assertion that "the United States is to-day practically sovereign on this continent and its fiat is law" cannot be made to tally with the assumption that anything England could do in regard to the Venezuela boundary can subject the United States to the pressure of the supreme law of self-preservation.

To launch forth such a declaration, which is not equaled by anything the first Napoleon dared to say when in the zenith of his power, and at the same time gravely to aver that our "safety," "the integrity of our free institutions" and "the tranquil maintenance of our distinctive form of government" are in jeopardy, if we do not compel England to terminate this squabble in a manner we think fair, that is a proceeding to which full justice cannot be done in parliamentary language.

Paul Marat proposed to have a dictator appointed over France and to have heavy iron balls chained to his legs. It would seem that the United States is a still more self-contradictory political monstrosity than this ingenious conception of the apostle of the despotism of liberty; so powerful that they lay down the law to the whole continent at their sovereign pleasure and so frail that their safety is gone and their institutions in danger of toppling down if in some nook of the continent, at a great distance from their own borders, one or two contestants in a comparatively petty boundary dispute dating back ever so far should be suffered to lay himself open to the suspicion of some sharp practice.

If Messrs. Cleveland and Olney have proved anything by the way in which they have treated the Venezuela question, then it is that they are the two last men in the country who are to be taken seriously when they set up "self-preservation," "integrity of our free institutions" and "the maintenance of our distinctive form of government" as props to rest our plain policy of "America for Americans" upon. Though it is most certainly not true—and heaven be thanked for it!—that the United States is practically sovereign on this continent and their fiat is law, the times are past, and past forever, when either of those four things depended on the Monroe doctrine, on any other doctrine, or on anything European powers might feel tempted to do in South America. There is not an American who is not as sure of this as of his own existence, and never has this well-founded conviction been voiced more emphatically than by the secretary of state in his dispatch and by the President in his message.

Monroe Doctrine No "Doctrine" at All.

The Monroe doctrine—in truth no "doctrine" at all and never intended to be one, but simply the announcement of a policy—was, however, born out of the necessity of self-preservation, or at least self-protection. The aggressive spirit, which public opinion is now solicited with passionate and imperative insistence to breathe into it, was wholly foreign to it. It was conceived as a strictly defensive joint countermove by England and the United States against the project by the joint power of the holy alliance to maintain the principle of absolutism not only in continental Europe, but also over every foot of ground any state of continental Europe owned or claimed to own anywhere. Its original and principal purpose was not to array America as America against Europe as Europe, nor even republicanism against monarchism, but, as Jefferson succinctly stated in his letter of Oct. 24, 1823, to Monroe, to pit the "system" of "freedom" against the system of "despotism," with England, to use his words, not only to "aid and accompany," but "to lead us" "in this pursuit." As to what it was primarily intended for, the Monroe doctrine has, therefore, as completely ceased to be a live issue as the declaration of independence.

The holy alliance, with its doctrines and aspirations, can no more be revived than life can again be breathed into the royal mummies or the pyramids, and in all the Christian states of Europe, with the exception of Russia, absolutism has been supplanted by constitutionalism on an everbroadening democratic basis; in France even monarchism has been swept away for good. As to England—if Jefferson thought in 1823 that she might properly "lead" in shutting out despotism from America, it is now too late in the day to pretend that it is incumbent upon the United States as guardians of the cause of freedom on this continent to slide with the Venezuelans against the English. The cause of freedom will have a poor show on this continent when with the people of the United States substance has no longer a chance against name and form. If our conception of liberty is of such a character that we think as champions of liberty we must sustain Venezuela against Great Britain, because the former is a republic and the latter a monarchy, then let us put a stop to having the minds of our children poisoned in the schools by teaching them the history of that abomination, beheaded, flag-ridden England, and substitute for it the inspiring lessons taught by the glorious history of the Simon-pure republic Venezuela, which is able to emit pretty nearly one revolution to every year of its existence.

The notion that liberty would have to go into mourning if the English were to prevail against the Venezuelans in this contention is on a par with Mr. Olney's asser-

190



tion that the ultimate result of our allowing England to have her own way as to the disputed territory would be that "we, too, must be armed to the teeth," although we are "master of the situation and practically invulnerable as against any or all other powers" and although we have grown to be what we are with an army of about twenty thousand men in spite of English territory bordering on our own from ocean to ocean and in spite of England's possessions in the West Indies, which are of much more consequence than the wildest imagination can suppose this enlargement of British Guiana to be. If we had a good case the administration has displayed admirable skill in making it look as bad as bad can be by painting with such an overfull brush. Overzeal has betrayed it into grossly exaggerating both ways; rendering the self-contradictions so glaring that even what is sound in its argument is thereby made to seem unsound or at least open to question.

Seward and the French in Mexico.

Thirty years ago another secretary of state proved in an international complication of infinitely greater moment and delicacy that the United States can safely dispense with the Monroe doctrine. Without so much as mentioning it a single time, Seward caused Napoleon to withdraw the French troops from Mexico. His remonstrances—very firm, but calm, dignified and studiously avoiding whatever might irritate and give offense—rested upon the sentiment of the people of the United States, which is now misnamed Monroe doctrine.

That sufficed. Why? Because this sentiment is a fact, and facts govern politics. This fact is one of the paramount elements in determining the relations of Europe to this continent, and its weight corresponds exactly to the power of the United States, i. e., it increases at a tremendous rate, and we know it—in fact, we know it only too well. On the other hand, "the operation of the sure but silent force of the doctrine proclaimed by President Monroe," of which Mr. Olney speaks, is a fiction, a fiction setting up a paper fetch and attributing magic powers to it. The doctrine does not operate by its own virtue, for it is not and cannot be possessed of any inherent force; there is only one active force in the case, the sentiment of the people of the United States, and the assertion of this force is not dependent on the doctrine—it is a fact, doctrine or no doctrine. If the fact ceases to be a fact, the doctrine does not avail us anything. So long as the fact remains a fact we do not need the doctrine. As doctrine it is worse than worthless to us, for as doctrine it is not binding upon anyone but ourselves.

A doctrine is a strait-jacket and a rational policy requires freedom of action, because it must conform to the conditions and circumstances. If we swear to a doctrine and the given conditions render it harmful to live up to it we are fools if we subordinate the national interest to loyalty to the self-imposed doctrine, and if we are sensible enough to be guided by our interests in spite of the doctrine we do so at the expense of our consistency and expose ourselves to scorn and ridicule. To shape its policy, not according to doctrines, be they of recent date or of never so venerable an age, but according to its interests, is not only the right, but also the imperative duty, of every state. The only question that is legitimately before those upon whom it is incumbent to determine its course is what its true interests are and require.

This is the real issue. The correct reading of the Monroe doctrine would be a purely academical question but for the fetich character, which it is attempted to impart to it. If this controversy could be authoritatively settled by an inappealable tribunal nothing would be gained by it. If the President and Mr. Olney were so surely right as to the applicability of the doctrine to the case in hand, as I for one believe them to be wrong, their policy would still stand condemned if it can be proved to run counter to the true interests of the country. This the critics of the administration maintain. They do not contend, as they have been frequently accused, that England has not laid herself open to just charges, nor that the United States have no legitimate interest in the question, nor that it is not eminently proper on their part to do their very best to have the dispute settled by arbitration. They only assert,

First—That the interests of the United States are not sufficiently involved in the question to warrant their being made a party to it to the extent it has been done by the policy of the administration.

Secondly—That from no point of view can the manner be justified, in which they have been thus made a party to it, because it was in the highest degree calculated to thwart the legitimate end the administration had in view—because it set up claims which cannot be sustained and which ought to be repudiated, even if they were sustainable—and finally, because it has greatly harmed the country, materially and morally, without benefiting it in any respect whatever.

No Principle of Law Involved.

The President admits in so many words that the contention is a mere boundary dispute as to the merits of which no judgment can be pronounced at present. That



principle or either recognized international law or of "American public law" or of any other kind is directly involved is therewith virtually conceded; to get it constructively into the issue a long-labored argument must be resorted to. He furthermore indirectly admits that it is in itself of no consequence to the United States who ultimately becomes the recognized owner of the disputed strip of territory, for he acknowledges that the United States would have no right to object if Venezuela would voluntarily leave it all to England, or if an arbitrator would award the whole of it to the latter power. And yet he has committed the United States, so far as he had the power to do so, to eventually wage war upon Great Britain about this question. What then would the United States be fighting for if they were to fight?

It is justly considered one of the great deeds of the authors of the constitution that they consigned constructive treason forever to the monstrosities of the past. Is this generation to lay down the law unto itself and unto those who are to come after it that the people of the United States must jump at the worse scourge humankind is subject to, paying with the fruit of their toll and the blood of their sons for the vindication of a constructive principle, though the alleged violation of it occurred in never so remote a nook or corner of the continent, neither of consequence to them nor subject to their control except by virtue of this constructive principle? Lowell has frequently been quoted as authority for the sentiment that the one thing more to be dreaded than a war with England would be to be afraid of it. Whether this be so or not, there is certainly one thing that would be a still greater calamity: Not to be afraid of a war without a cause, to it with England or with any other power.

While such a war is the greatest crime a government and a nation can be guilty of, a threat of war without cause addressed to an equally powerful and proud state is the worst blunder a government can commit. If the sole object of the administration was to bring about the settlement of the dispute by arbitration—and that we must assume so long as no positive proof to the contrary is furnished—then the proper thing for it to do was to build a royal road to enable England to travel as smoothly as possible over her reluctance to yield to the urgencies of the United States.

To speak in the harsh accents of command, as an authority which is entitled to obedience and will compel it, was to make compliance well-nigh impossible. What would our answer have been, if England, say, if all the combined powers of Europe, had presumed to address such language to us on any subject whatever? It is in international relations no more than in private life either fair or wise to think exclusively of one self and to leave

wholly out of account how the other side will and must necessarily feel. Who can in candor gainsay that the administration and the majority of the American people have been guilty of this?

Another Grave Blunder.

Needlessly to provoke resentment by tone and form was all the more a grave blunder, because no recognized principle of right, but only might could be adduced in support of the substance of the claims set up by the administration on behalf of the United States. The assertion that they are practically sovereign on this continent and their fiat is law virtually proclaims them the suzerain of the whole continent to the extent they may at any moment be pleased to claim and exercise suzerainty. That the claim is introduced under the taking name of "balance of power" does not abate in the least its monstrosity; on the contrary, it only makes it all the more flagrant, for the name fits the thing no more than a sledgehammer is the proper tool to mend a chronometer. By weighting several things against each other they are balanced.

The so-called balance of power in Europe is the principle that none of the great powers shall attain an undue superiority and that to secure this they are, among other things, jointly to exercise a certain influence on the minor states so far as these are or become co-determining factors in regard to the maintenance of the political equilibrium. It is a vague unwritten code of international checks, lessening the danger of a resort to force in the international relations by the voluntary subjection of the preponderating powers to the moral restraint of the idea of mutual control in the interest of all.

The claim set up for the United States as to America is, therefore, the very antithesis of what in Europe is understood by balance of power. Here there is to be no balance, for it is asserted that the United States is in fact and of right the only determining weight on this continent. The frailties of human nature, however, render checks and control by others the most indispensable prerequisite to secure not only justice to all, but even happiness to oneself. The critics of the administration maintain that this holds good as much in international relations as in national and private life. Therefore they are of opinion that it would tax the ingenuity of the worst enemy of the United States to the utmost to devise a more pernicious present for them than this all-god sovereignty over the whole continent would be. They could not exercise the right without assuming the corresponding duties and that would involve a responsibility the weight of which would be absolutely crushing even if every American were a George Washington. The mere business of drawing boundary lines, in which we have been engaged with the



further duty of eventually having to whip the parties into accepting them, would be an unbearable burden, even if we were to take care in future not to undertake the impossible task "to determine the true divisional line," where the whole historical evolution renders it palpable that no such true divisional line ever existed and that all that, in the nature of the case, can be done is to trace a fair and equitable line.

Consequences of Continental Sovereignty.

And what would the advantages be which the people of the United States would derive from charging themselves as sovereign and supreme lawgiver with the affairs of the whole continent? Let the answer be given by the consequences of the first step toward the realization of the wild dream. Our reputation for sobriety, judiciousness, moderation is seriously impaired; England has few friends and yet not in a single country of Europe does public opinion indorse our attitude, and though no European government has officially expressed an opinion, it is a certainty that everyone of them considers our claims unwarranted and inadmissible; the solution of urgent and most momentous problems of internal policy, which seemed to be well under way, has been grievously disturbed and thrown back for nobody knows how long a time; enormous losses have been incurred in consequence of the alarm created by the unexpected ringing of the tocsin; through the apprehension of war has nearly vanished, the uncertainty of what it will all come to continues to lie as a weight of lead on the nation's economical life, for nothing clogs the spirit of enterprise so effectually as uncertainty; and, last but not least, the passions have been stirred up in people's minds and have made a violent attempt to silence reason, to hoot down interest and even to lay down the law for ethics; never before have the American people to such an extent lost their sense of proportion and never before have they been so completely thrown off their balance.

What is the explanation of this? There is but one and it is to be found in the second assumption I spoke of, that the national honor is now something different from what it was from 1849 down to 1895, or that it at least imposes other and vastly greater obligations upon the nation.

For a moment Europe supposed that

the message was merely an electioneering trick, and therefore need not be taken too seriously. Such a gross delusion would have been absolutely impossible if Europe did not still think that it can afford to be most woefully ignorant of what is going on in the United States. The message exploded a mine dug and charged by other hands. With some interruptions they had been at it ever since the days when Elaine was the idol of a large part of the republican party. They had applied themselves to their work, not only without any attempt at concealment, but with studied ostentation. Now and then they fired a trial shot, as for instance in the Chilean incident, and then pretty emphatic protests came from some quarters. Upon the whole, however, public opinion looked on all the while more than complacently—probably considerably less so than the operators believed or pretended to believe, for, to judge the history of this whole movement correctly, the old truth must never be lost sight of that one man who roars makes more noise than a thousand that keep silent. Still, the talk about a "vigorous foreign policy" in the newspapers would not have grown into a clamor for an "aggressive foreign policy" if the editors and correspondents had not been right in assuming that they were pleasing the majority of their readers. Mostly it consisted of rather inarticulate effusions, but the very failure to state with any definiteness and precision what was meant by an "aggressive foreign policy" did the best to captivate the public ear. The notion spread and took even deeper root that the nation owed it to itself to give the world some dazzling object lessons of its greatness and power. It was forgotten that this greatness and power had been achieved not only without taking part in international pyrotechnics, but exactly by the wise policy to abstain from indulging in this expensive luxury.

The conception of true national greatness was being dimmed by the craving to make striking displays of might. A mildew began to creep over the bright petals of the glorious flower national pride. Slowly but steadily an insidious sweet poison was being filtered not only into the political thought, but also deeper down into the political sentiment; the instinctive tendencies were getting vitiated. If this were not checked betimes it had inevitably to lead to the worst—the contamination of the political conscience. Nor could the dire effects of all this be confined to international relations.

Hatred and Jealousy of England.

In a sense it was a piece of great good fortune that England offered a tempting opportunity to make her the target of the aggressive policy, the people were said to be so anxious to inaugurate. Nothing else could have brought matters so quickly to a head and evoked such bitter



ally the inclined plane on which we were smoothly gliding down. Will anybody seriously contend that France would have called forth an identical dispatch from Mr. Olney and an identical message from the President if her attitude in her boundary dispute with Brazil had been exactly the same as that of England in her controversy with Venezuela, or that the secretary of state and the President would have met with the same response from public opinion? England is deemed by the American people the only real rival of the United States, their only peer—of her they are jealous and against her they bear the most and the deepest grudges—other nations they like, dislike, or are indifferent to. England alone they hate, because they cannot help loving her, for the basic elements of the national life are English—the thought of humiliating England exercises an irresistible fascination upon them, because her alone they respect as an equal.

The magic phrase, "Monroe doctrine," would have kindled their enthusiasm under any circumstances, but it was instantly at a white heat because the thunderbolt was hurled against England. Volumes could be filled with irrefutable proofs for this assertion. The vehemence with which the flood was made to burst forth by the unfettering of the passion against England, carrying everything down before it—logic, sense of justice, self-respect, respect for the very vital principles of our national life—was appalling.

The communications from the public to the papers teemed with impassioned reminders of all the sins of England and especially of all the evil she had done to the United States—as if that was incontestable proof that she was wrong in this case, that the claims set up by our government were well founded, that its policy subserved our interests. Irish patriots publicly announced their exultation over the prospect of getting a chance to wreak their vengeance on England and ever so many papers printed the declarations as glad some tokens of the right spirit without remembering that by his oath of allegiance to the United States the adopted citizen is enjoined from trying to use the United States as a club to settle the domestic accounts of a foreign country. In the face of the President's official statement that he is "without any conviction as to the final merits of the dispute," a historian of reputation (McMaster) wrote that Great Britain is to-day attempting to take from Venezuela, not 30,000 square miles, as is commonly stated, but 129,000 square miles, to which "she has no just claim whatever," and that even to aspire to it "rightfully" would bring her under the ban of the Monroe doctrine, and such enunciations were extolled by leading pa-

pers as the classical exposition of this national shibboleth. To those who dared to question its applicability to the case in hand there was at first but one answer, anathema maranatha! The right to have an opinion of one's own was proscribed and the brand of "treasonable," attached by many a patriotic editor to the names of those who had the hardihood to exercise it.

Even congress was denied the right to pause, examine, deliberate, and there was indeed not one man either in the house of representatives or in the senate to stand up against the popular torrent and raise his voice above its roar to remind the people that discussion, the free exchange of opinions, is the very foundation of the republic. When the country was startled by the loss of untold millions in two days, the mercenary sordid spirit was denounced which did not blush to think and speak of the pocket in such an issue—as if commerce and industry were only on sufferance in this country, instead of having built up its power and greatness.

Small wonder, for even a judge, bearing a name of world-wide renown, had taught the youths that American manhood would be in jeopardy, if the country did not from time to time take a dashing turn in the death dance of war. The fierce intolerance of democracy when popular passion is aroused went to the length of insisting that in this emergency it was its patriotic duty to commit hara-kiri. "The word of command" that has gone forth from the President, declared a general, "must be obeyed," and he who does not sustain the policy of the government "is entitled to no right under it." It was an awful spectacle, infinitely more in keeping with the ways of the French republicans of a hundred years ago than with American republicanism, to which the miracle is due that the thirteen colonies of 1776 have in four generations grown into an empire second to none in power, glory and worth.

There was a time when the abolitionists were hunted down as criminals and traitors, and even ropes put around their necks by "gentlemen clubs" for daring to denounce slavery as "the sum of all villainies." To-day the memory of these men is revered and hallowed for having dared to differ with the majority and wage war to the knife against its opinions. The time will come when these will no longer stand pilloried as "un-American" who have deemed it their duty to say that the Cleveland-Olney doctrine is not the Monroe doctrine—that the nation must not make itself the slave of the Monroe doctrine, but that the doctrine has to be subordinated to the nation's true interest—that the administration has grievously hurt the nation's true interests by



shooting the mark in every direction in its management of the Venezuela controversy—that the nation's true interest is not an aggressive foreign policy, but to keep aloof from international entanglements and ventures of territorial aggrandizement, to mind its own affairs, to devote itself to honest toil, to set up the highest ideals for itself and to labor at their realization in education, in charity, in politics, in all the arts of peace—that the admonition of Washington's Farewell Address to exclude "permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations" ought still to be heeded—that Hamilton's word still holds good: "'Tis as great an error for a nation to overrate as to underrate itself. Presumption is as great a fault as timidity."

The time will come when it will be seen and acknowledged that they proved themselves to be true Americans by daring to have faith in the American people—to trust that, no matter how unwelcome the remonstrances, the people would soon again listen, weigh them, have the moral courage to revise their judgment and conquer their prejudices, and above all become again fully conscious that a self-governing nation is in truth free only if it proves itself capable of exercising self-control and self-restraint. The time will come—aye, it is coming, and has come already with many.

H. VON HOLST.

A STEP FORWARD.

Report of the Foreign Relations Committee.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

Strong Assumption for the United States.

FURTHER THAN CLEVELAND.

No European Power Can Buy Any Territory.

Position Ridiculed by the European Press—Mr. Sewell's Opposition to President Cleveland's Action.

Washington, Jan. 20.—The Monroe resolution as reported to the Senate this morning by Mr. Davis announces that any attempt to secure new or additional territory on this continent or any of the islands adjacent thereto, either through force, cession, occupation, purchase, colonization or other-

wise, will be looked upon as an infringement of the doctrine, and that that doctrine will be asserted and maintained by the United States. It also places the control of any canal that may be constructed connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans within the protection of the doctrine. The resolution reads as follows:—Resolved by the Senate, the House of Representatives concurring, that whereas President Monroe in his message to Congress of December 2, 1823, deemed it proper to assert as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, were thenceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power; and whereas President Monroe further declared in that message that the United States would consider any attempt by the allied powers of Europe to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety; that with the existing colonies and dependencies of any European power we have not interfered, and should not interfere, but that with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any manner their destiny by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States, and further reiterated in that message that it is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; and whereas the doctrine and policy so proclaimed by President Monroe have since been repeatedly asserted by the United States, by executive declaration and action upon occasions and exigencies which caused them to be first announced, and have been ever since their promulgation, and now are, the rightful policy of the United States; therefore be it resolved that the United States of America reaffirms and confirms the doctrine and principles promulgated by President Monroe in his message of December 2, 1823, and declares that it will assert and maintain the doctrine and these principles, and will regard any infringement thereof, and particularly any attempt by an



197

European power to take or acquire any new or additional territory on the American continent, or any island adjacent thereto, or any right of sovereignty or dominion in the same, in any case or instance as to which the United States shall deem such attempt to be dangerous to its peace or safety, by or through force, purchase, cession, occupation, pledge, colonization, protectorate, or by control of the exemption in any canal or any other means of transit across the American isthmus, whether under unfounded pretension of right in cases of alleged boundary disputes or under any other unfounded pretensions, as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States, and as an interposition which it would be impossible in any form for the United States to regard with indifference.

The concurrent resolution was placed on the calendar, Mr. Gray (Dem., Del.), a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, stating that the report was not a unanimous one.

MR. SEWELL'S OBJECTION.

The resolution of Mr. Sewell (Rep., N.J.), placing limitations on the Monroe doctrine and condemning the President's message on subject, was taken up, and Mr. Sewell addressed the Senate upon it. Mr. Sewell said it appeared quite clear that the President intended to present to Congress the contingency of war with Great Britain. Whether it was wise in the President to take such an issue at this time was a question about which there might be a serious difference of opinion. Mr. Sewell declared that the position taken in President Cleveland's Venezuelan message was far in advance of what was contemplated by the Monroe doctrine. It was a new departure, and really meant a protectorate over Mexico and over the States of South and Central America. No matter whether those States be right or wrong in any conflict with a European power, the United States would be bound (under Mr. Cleveland's view) to furnish men and munitions of war, and force enough to protect them against European powers.

The concurrent resolution was placed on the calendar without discussion. The subject, however, came up immediately afterwards in the shape of a resolution offered last week by Mr. Sewell limiting the application of the Monroe doctrine and condemning the Venezuelan message of President Cleveland as unwise and inopportune. Mr. Sewell addressed the Senate in support of his resolution, and argued that Mr. Cleveland's position was far in advance of what was contemplated in the Monroe doctrine, and that the effect would be the establishment of a protectorate over Mexico and over each of the South American and Central American States.

He could not agree to any such policy. Those south and central American States so constantly in revolution, so unstable in their forms of government, could not fail to embroil themselves with foreign powers. They would be hasty reckless violent, if

they found that they were to be protected by the United States, and this country would find itself thereby involved in interminable trouble. The subject was grave, and the action of the Senate might be fraught with momentous consequences. It demanded the most careful, deliberate and thoughtful consideration. It appeared to him that the present was not an opportune time for the precipitation of such an issue upon the country. A matter which had been slumbering so many years in a state of diplomatic repose might have been delayed at least a few months longer. Congress had quite enough to do now if it addressed itself to the ordering of domestic economies. It seemed hardly wise to have thrown into the political arena just at this time such further cause for disorder and disturbance. It appeared to him that the action of the Executive had been alike unreasonable and premature.

No action was taken on Mr. Sewell's resolution, but Senators Wolcott (Rep., Col.) and Daniel (Dem., Va.) gave notice of their intention to address the Senate upon it next Wednesday and Thursday.

FROM BRITISH GUIANA.

Georgetown, British Guiana, Jan. 4.—A good deal of excitement is now shown here with regard to the boundary dispute, and the cable company's office, where the public telegrams are posted daily, presents quite an animated appearance. Here and there groups of men assemble and discuss every scrap of intelligence which comes to hand. The population of British Guiana is a mixed one, and while the British section of the community places implicit confidence in the strength of the Imperial Government to assert her rights, subjects of other countries are not by any means so sanguine. It is stated as a fact that while the gold field fever was at its height, the Government of the colony, acting upon instructions from the Imperial Government, caused it to be understood that all applications for mining licenses were granted and must be accepted upon condition that, in event of the settlement of the boundary question, the land for which the licensees were granted might be found to be Venezuelan territory, and that no claim for compensation be brought against the Government of British Guiana. Col. Melnes, Inspector-General of the British Guiana Police Contabulary, left Georgetown for the British outposts at Yuruan, on, it is reported, a visit of inspection, at the direction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Col. Melnes is accompanied by Lieut. Godfrey Fawcett, a young officer attached to the East India Corps, but who is here on some secret mission in connection with the Colonial Office; also by Dr. House of the Colonial Medical Staff, Michael McTurk, Magistrate for the northwest district, and a number of men. Within the past few days some 30 additional constables have been drafted from Georgetown to the northwest district of the contested territory, and the medical officers are now engaged in "passing" another hun-



dred men of the military police force for service within the disputed territory. A report is current here that on Christmas Eve Michael McTurk, Magistrate, caused a large number of United States flags to be taken down at Bartica, in the interior of this colony. It appears that the residents of Bartica had decided to decorate the streets in view of a visit by the administrator, and among the decorations displayed the star spangled banner was much in evidence. On the arrival of Mr. McTurk and Captain Baker, Inspector of Prisons, the people were requested to haul down all the American flags, and this was done.

THE LONDON PRESS.

London, Jan. 20.—The Daily News will to-morrow say:—"The smaller American powers, whether they become free or not by the amended Monroe doctrine, will unquestionably become the slaves of the United States. If the theory of their dependence be pushed too far their protector may find it has more than it bargained for. If the Foreign Relations Committee is right Mr. Cleveland is certainly wrong. He expressly invited Great Britain to settle her dispute directly with Venezuela, but it now appears that whatever arrangement is made it must be submitted to the United States as a sort of suzerain. The American people are paying the penalty now for their narrowness of interest in foreign affairs. They have at last found something to occupy them, but their one idea is rapidly becoming a superstition. It only remains to apply the Monroe doctrine to the impatation of tin-plates and there will be no extravagance left. Alas, for the common sense that Mr. Gladstone reminded us would so easily settle the dispute."

London, Jan. 20.—The Globe this afternoon during the course of an article condemning the attitude of the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, says:—"The English people will not stand much more flouting from anybody, and these gentlemen, whom we credit with no more exalted sentiment than the wish to stand well with their Irish constituents, may easily find themselves face to face with a situation that could only be called appalling."

In its issue to-morrow The Chronicle will say it rejoices over the Bering Sea arbitration, as showing that reason still sways the Anglo-American relations. The paper persists in its intention to take an optimistic view of the situation. It says that the story of Spain selling Cuba to Great Britain is not even for marines but for Bedlam. The furnishing of charts of North American waters, the West Indian seas and the Mediterranean to the flying squadron, it says, is without the least significance, as no British warship ever starts on a foreign cruise without such charts. It

is the universal custom to supply warships with them. The paper appeals to the people to keep their heads, and to discount wild rumors. It sees nothing in Senator Davis' resolution beyond a revised and more definite version of the original Monroe doctrine. The doctrine is not substantially altered, and the resolution is in no wise calculated to damage the case for arbitration.

Paris, Jan. 20.—The Eclair, referring to the suggested additions to the Monroe doctrine, asks:—"Does the American Government think it is strong enough to appropriate in its own interest one of the two hemispheres and forbid Europe to have access to it?"

It declares that if America carries her pretensions to such a length the European powers will arrange an entente under which they will close their ports to American ships, a step which The Eclair says would speedily bring the United States to terms. The paper argues that the United States have taken an attitude on the Monroe doctrine which they will find it impossible to maintain.

BRAZIL, TOO.

Buenos Ayres, Jan. 20.—A despatch to The Prensa from Rio Janeiro says that Dr. De Carvalho, Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs, will demand from Great Britain the immediate restitution of the Island of Trinidad, which was recently occupied by her for the alleged purpose of making it a landing station for a cable, but which Brazil claims as her territory. If the demand shall be refused the relations between the two powers will probably be ruptured.

NOTES.

No progress was made upon the House bond bill with the free coinage substitute reported from the Committee on Finance. Mr. Jones (Dem., Ark.), who has charge of it, gave as a reason for not pushing it the fact that several Senators who desired to speak upon it were not yet prepared, and wanted more time to get their speeches ready; but Mr. Hill (Dem., N.Y.) hinted that the vote was kept back until after the election of the two Senators from Utah.

The Venezuelan commission met today in its temporary quarters in the building partly occupied by the Inter-State Commerce Commission, and after a session of an hour and a quarter adjourned till Friday next.

London, Jan. 20.—Lord Playfair, who is a strong advocate of a bitration, and is especially favorable to arbitration of the Venezuelan dispute, had a long conference with United States Ambassador Bayard this afternoon.



199

THE GLOBE, TORONTO,
TUESDAY, JANUARY 21, 1896

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.

It is altogether unlikely that there will be any certainty about the destination of the flying squadron until it actually turns up at the point selected by the authorities of the Admiralty. The vessels are under sealed orders, so that the Admiral of the fleet may possibly be as ignorant of the objective place of his command as the midshipmite. Not until he is at sea and beyond the natural range of the inquiries of the reporter will he be certain of his destination, so that it is safe to treat all the despatches on the subject as mere surmise. The conjecture, therefore, that it will proceed to the West Indies may have no better foundation of fact than any one of the other half-dozen guesses that have been made since the squadron was ready for orders. The rumor that it would suddenly appear in some of the harbors of the West Indies seems to be the favorite one, probably because it is the most sensational, and the world at the present juncture seems to have a keen appetite for sensation.

We may feel reasonably sure, nevertheless, that that supposition is erroneous. The despatch of this powerful armament to this side of the water might be susceptible of more than one construction, but it would receive but one from the people of this continent. It would be interpreted as a practical abandonment of negotiation and a determination on the part of Britain to support her views of the question at issue by force. We may be sure that the matter has not reached that stage, and therefore sure that the flying squadron will not darken American waters at present at least. It is altogether likely that it will emerge from the mystery enveloping its course across the seas in

the neighborhood of South Africa. The English people are decidedly more concerned in the international complications consequent on Dr. Jameson's raid than they are in their differences with the United States over Venezuela.

It must not be too hastily supposed, however, that all danger of conflagration from that quarter is over. The materials for a blaze still exist, and the very idea that a war between these two peoples is impossible may of itself prove a source of danger. It is to be feared that the unlikelihood of a conflict may embolden the cheaper type of politicians among our neighbors to fidle to the dancing of the jingoes more merrily than ever, while the voice of the better public opinion is silenced by the outward appearance of calm. In this connection it should not escape notice that the Foreign Relations Committee has reported to the Senate in favor of an affirmation of the Monroe doctrine, something that has never before been done. The doctrine, while dear in name to the great majority of American citizens, has been up to date to a large extent a name only. Now the statesmen of the Senate would give it form and substance and surety, for which their successors may have reason to bestow upon them a left-handed blessing. That, however, is entirely their own business. What concerns us chiefly is that the doctrine as now formulated does not or ought not to affect Britain's contention in Venezuela. It is to be presumed that her title to the territory she claims is not new, and that she does not deem it "unfounded."

The object in laying this resolution before the Senate is frankly acknowledged by The New York Herald's Washington correspondent to be



200

"merely to allow Senators to work off
speeches which they have been pre-

The Mail and Empire.

896



PRESIDENT CRESPO, OF VENEZUELA

M.
the name
ally origin-
His alm
Holy Alli-
time, from
government
this hemi-
y of Great
ade to Mr.
the Presi-
with a vlew
co-opera-
the Mother
d. That it
Jefferson
dressed by
lme, which
Mr. Mon-
he sugges-
requested
t met with
oval, espe-
that with
the scale
European
o that of
Mr. Jeffer-
and nearly
se, writing
he part of
esible, be-
nelther of
superlor
favoured
leable, and
power of
proved it-
lor to the

rs of his-
policy was
ed States
land was
if not ac-
m, before
Monroe in
perceived
e of self-
n to both
ese great
his hemi-
so evenly

balanced, and between whom to-day
the greater part of North America is



merely to allow Senators to work off speeches which they have been preparing and which they hope to use to advantage in the coming political campaign." The danger is that their constituents may take them seriously. It must not be lost sight of that the relations of the two powers on the question, notwithstanding all the pacific things that have been said, are in a very critical position. The methods of escape from that position are few and not particularly promising. Britain may come to terms with Venezuela, or President Cleveland's commission may report favorably on the British claims—outside of these possibilities there seems nothing for it but a recession by one or other of the contesting parties. While that is the situation it would be statesmanlike on the part of public men in the United States to take no action that may inflame feeling or make a peaceful solution more difficult.

The Mail and Empire.

21. Jan. 1896

THE NEW MONROEISM.

The doctrine which bears the name of President Monroe was really originated by Mr. Canning. His aim was to prevent the Holy Alliance, so powerful at the time, from imposing its system of government upon the free States of this hemisphere. This was the policy of Great Britain, and the suggestion made to Mr. Bush, and through him to the President of the United States, with a view to enlisting the union and co-operation of the Republic with the Mother Country in securing this end. That it was so understood by Mr. Jefferson is evident from a letter addressed by him to Mr. Monroe at the time, which fortunately is still extant. Mr. Monroe communicated to him the suggestion of Mr. Canning, and requested his opinion concerning it. It met with Mr. Jefferson's hearty approval, especially in view of the fact that with Great Britain taken from the scale of the great and dangerous European combination and shifted to that of these continents—we use Mr. Jefferson's own figure of speech, and nearly as possible his own language, writing from memory—a war on the part of the alliance would be impossible, because "they could get at neither of "the enemies without a superior "navy." In other words, he favoured it because it was made practicable, and its success assured, by the power of England's navy, which had proved itself so recently to be superior to the combined navies of Europe.

From these simple matters of history it is evident that this policy was not one in which the United States alone was concerned. England was committed to it virtually, if not actually, in fact, if not in form, before it was enunciated by Mr. Monroe in his message of 1823. It was perceived as necessary as a measure of self-defence and self-preservation to both the one and the other of these great nations whose interests in this hemisphere were at the time so evenly balanced, and between whom to-day the greater part of North America is

201

so evenly divided. As we have seen this was the view entertained by Mr. Jefferson, and probably by every other statesman whose opinion was worth anything at the time. The proper position of these nations in respect to this matter, if it has not altogether cultivated its usefulness—which we do not affirm—is standing shoulder to shoulder in its defence. Their interests are identical, and their aspirations touching, not only the destiny of this hemisphere, but the future, are the same. The interests of America and of the race demand that their action should be united, and any attempt to break the natural bond that is between them is an act of treason against humanity.

But now, under the authority of the doctrine, the United States claims hegemony on this continent. It practically denies that Britain, Spain, and France have sovereign rights in their respective colonies in America. In his note Secretary Olney, and in his special message President Cleveland, pushed the pretensions of the United States far beyond the bounds of the doctrine as originally enunciated. In both these documents is claimed the right of the United States to prescribe the manner in which an international boundary line shall be determined between two recognized sovereign powers in South America. The vote of Congress to appoint the commission seemed to mean that this domineering stand was intensely popular. That all the honour and votes gained by this new Monroeism may not accrue wholly to the Democratic party, the Republicans now propose to add a rider to the doctrine and embody the proposition in a statute. What makes the special Republican corollary more acceptable to its authors is the fact that it corrects the statement of the doctrine in President Cleveland's message. The President had said in substance that the United States would have no business to interfere if Venezuela chose to sell any part of its territory to Great Britain. In the Republican version of the doctrine, which is contained in a bill reported yesterday to the Senate by the Committee on Foreign Relations, any extension of foreign dominion in this

hemisphere, whether by conquest or purchase, must be regarded as unfriendly to the United States. It is hardly wise of our neighbours to carry the development of Monroeism so far. They will next be laying it down as a logical deduction from the doctrine that one foreign power cannot transfer its American possessions to another—that France, for example, cannot sell St. Pierre and Miquelon to Britain, or relinquish to Britain its rights on the Newfoundland shore.

The Mail and Empire.

JANUARY 21, 1896.

GROWING DANGER

**The Stand Congress is Taking
on Monroeism.**

A RIDICULOUS ATTITUDE.

**Britain Will Not Stand Much
More Flouting.**

MONROE DEBATE IN WASHINGTON.

**Reported Purchase of Immense Supplies of
Coal For the Canadian Frontier.**

London, Jan. 20.—The Globe this afternoon, during the course of an article condemning the attitude of the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, says:—"The English people will not stand much more flouting from anybody, and these gen-

202

men, whom we credit with no more exalted sentiment than the wish to stand well with their Irish constituents, may very easily find themselves face to face with a situation that could only be called appalling."

THE FLYING SQUADRON.

In spite of the assertions of a sensational news agency to the contrary, the Associated Press is in a position to repeat its assertion of Saturday last, that it has been informed by the British Admiralty that the destination of the flying squadron, now at Spithead, is not yet determined upon, even by the Admiralty, and that certainly it will not go to Bermuda, or anywhere in American waters for the present.

The reports from New York that communications regarding the destination of the British flying squadron have passed between the Governments of the United States and Great Britain are pronounced to be utterly without foundation in fact. Lord Playfair, who is prominently identified with the movement to establish a permanent board for international arbitration, had a long interview to-day with the United States Ambassador, Mr. Thomas F. Bayard.

A SERIOUS STEP.

The Daily News this morning, during the course of a long editorial on the adoption by the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee of the Davis resolution reaffirming the Monroe doctrine, says that it regards this as a most serious step. Continuing, the Daily News says: "The sooner Lord Salisbury discovers a method of arbitration the better. The Venezuelan Commission hangs fire, not, perhaps, without President Cleveland's connivance. If he is giving us time we would be foolish not to take it."

DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS.

The Chronicle considers it probable that England and Venezuela will order enquiries to be made into the settlements and cessions of land in the disputed territory. This, it says, will offer a basis for a renewal of negotiations, and, it is now thought, will be the form of arbitration that will be resorted to.

JINGOISM GONE DAFT.

The New York correspondent of the Times says:—"The New York World describes the new movement in the Senate as jingoism gone daft, and denounces the resolution of the Foreign Relations Committee as uncalled for, as borrowing and inviting trouble, as based on a false pretence, as dangerous, and calls upon the common sense and real patriotism of the people to make themselves felt at Washington. But Washington at the present moment seems to be living a life of its own."

CONFLICTING OPINIONS.

An editorial in the Daily News tomorrow will say:—"If the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations is right, President Cleveland must certainly be wrong, for he expressly invited Great Britain to settle the boundary question directly with Venezuela. It only remains to apply the Monroe doctrine to the importation of tin plates, and there will be no extravagance left to commit."

The Graphic comments upon the vagueness in the new Monroe doctrine, and says:—"The proviso that it shall only apply to cases which the United States deems dangerous to its peace or safety looks like a sign of weakness."

GERMANY'S CHANGES.

The Berlin correspondent of the Times, commenting upon the difficulty of following the kaleidoscopic changes in the attitude of Germany towards England, quotes a glowing article from the Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, comparing Emperor William's telegram to President Krugers with the famous Ems despatch, which ushered in the war of 1870, as one of the epoch-making events in modern history. The article contends that the Emperor's telegram has achieved a peaceful victory, and a vindication of international law beyond the seas, "worthy to rank with the most momentous triumphs of the glorious period which we have been celebrating."

A RIDICULOUS ATTITUDE.

Paris, Jan. 20.—The Eclair to-day, referring to the suggested additions to the Monroe doctrine, asks:—"Does the American Government think it is strong enough to appropriate in its own interest one of the two hemispheres, and forbid Europe to have access to it? If it pushes its extravagant pretensions to this point the only thing that can happen will be that all Europe will arrive at an understanding by which they will close their ports to American ships, a measure which will make America ask for mercy within a week. Why does America assume an attitude she cannot maintain?"

SIR JOHN PENDER WRITES.

New York, Jan. 20.—The World publishes the following cable despatch, sent to it from Sir John Pender:—

London, Jan. 18.

Knowing the deep interest you take in maintaining a good understanding between this country and America, I have no hesitation in sending you the following letter from Sir William Des Voeux, who is a man of large experience, and was lately Governor of Hong Kong. He spent some years in Venezuela, and therefore knows the subject thoroughly well. JOHN PENDER.



SIR WILLIAM DES VOEUX'S VIEW

To the Editor of the World.—As the desire appears to be more general on both sides of the Atlantic for an amicable settlement with Venezuela of the boundary question, which has recently received such hctitious importance, I

venture to make a suggestion which, besides other advantages, may tend to facilitate and shorten negotiations.

We learn from Caracas that any proposal for settlement will be referred to Washington for approval. Venezuela, as she has a perfect right to do, has thus practically chosen the United States Government to act, so to speak, as her attorney in this matter. And as she has broken off diplomatic relations with Great Britain, it might be well that she should do formally what apparently she has done already informally, and authorize the United States Government to act on her behalf. Such an arrangement would probably be satisfactory to us, as providing us with a civilized and stable Government with which to negotiate, while our acceptance of it would go far to conciliate the feeling in the United States.

If one or more negotiators were then appointed by the United States, and an equal number by Great Britain, they, actuated on both sides by an earnest desire for "peace and honour," and with the whole case before them, might be expected to come very quickly to a definite agreement. This might of course be made subject to the ratification of both Governments concerned, in which case Great Britain would in all probability not withhold the ratification of what had been thus arrived at, while, if Venezuela did not do so, the United States, being satisfied that we had done all that could in reason be expected of us, would leave Venezuela to the consequences of her unreason. Or, better still, as finally settling the question, the negotiators might be given plenary powers, in which case the United States would naturally undertake to enforce any unanimous conclusion, as Venezuela has in the past proved so impracticable in negotiations and is not likely to have modified her pretensions.

In consequence of recent events it seems probable that without some such preliminary arrangement any attempt at settlement would be useless, and any suggestions for that end are premature.

I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant.

WILLIAM DES VOEUX.

THE MONROE RESOLUTION.

Washington, Jan. 20.—Senator Davis, of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, to-day reported favourably the resolution enunciating the Monroe doctrine.

The following is the full text:—

Resolved by the Senate, the House of Representatives concurring, that as President Monroe, in his message to Congress of December 2nd, Anno Domini 1823, deemed it proper to assert as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, were thenceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power.

Whereas, President Monroe further declared in that message that the United States would consider any attempt by the allied powers of Europe to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety; that with the existing colonies and dependencies of any European power we have not interfered, and should not interfere; but that with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principle acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing or controlling them in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States, and further reiterated in that message that it is impossible that allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; and,

Whereas, the doctrine and policy so proclaimed by President Monroe have since been repeatedly asserted by the United States by executive declaration and action upon occasions and exigencies similar to the particular occasion and exigency which caused them to be first announced, and have been ever since their promulgation, and now are, the rightful policy of the United States.

Therefore be it resolved that the United States of America reaffirms and confirms the doctrine and principles promulgated by President Monroe in his message of December 12, 1823, and declares that it will assert and maintain that doctrine and those principles, and will regard any infringement thereof, and particularly any attempt by any European power to take or acquire any new territory on the American continents or any islands adjacent thereto, or any right of sovereignty or dominion in the same, in any case or instance as to which the United States shall deem such attempt to be dangerous to its peace or safety, by or through force, purchase, cession, occupation, pledge, colonization, protectorate, or by control of the canal.



ment in canal or any other means of transit across the American isthmus, whether on unfounded pretension of right in cases of alleged boundary disputes, or under other unfounded pretensions, as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States, and an interposition which it would be impossible in any form for the United States to regard with indifference.

The report went to the calendar. Mr. Gray announced that the report was not unanimous.

OPPOSITION TO THE DOCTRINE.

Two opposing phases of the Monroe doctrine were presented in the Senate to-day, one from the Committee on Foreign Relations, favouring a strong reaffirmation of the doctrine, and another from Mr. Sewell, of New Jersey, urging that the doctrine had been carried so far beyond its scope as to threaten dangerous consequences. Mr. Sewell's speech attracted attention from the fact that it is the utterance of opposition to the prevailing tendency in Congress on the doctrine, and, moreover, the New Jersey Senator used direct language in criticising the haste of the President in precipitating a question which involved the possibilities of war. He said that President Cleveland had extended the Monroe doctrine beyond its proper scope, and enunciated the principle that the doctrine was for the interest of the United States, and was not an obligation to aid and protect Southern American Republics. Mr. Sewell said the President's Venezuelan message presented questions of most serious import. Reading from the message, he declared that the President clearly desired to present the contingency of war. Throughout the message and the letters of the Secretary of State the determination was clear to make this construction of the doctrine absolutely final and conclusive without reference to results. The Senator then quoted from resolutions of Congress in 1825, and speeches by Mr. Webster, showing the exact purposes and original scope of the Monroe doctrine. In 1863, Senator Clayton, of Delaware, pointed out in the Senate that the doctrine of Monroe was not addressed to foreign nations, but was a mere recommendation to Congress, which Congress declined at the time and had ever since declined to accept. The Congress sitting at the time of the Monroe message strenuously opposed the doctrine. Henry Claiborne offered a modified resolution, but it could not

pass. Lewis Cass referred to the doctrine as a dead letter. Mr. Sewell gave the position of John Quincy Adams, Jackson, VanBuren, and other statesmen on the doctrine, showing the constant and successful opposition to it. Taking up the Venezuelan question, Mr. Sewell pointed out that the President's position involved the most extreme and dangerous application of the doctrine thus far made. It was not based on the interests of the United States, but on the force exerted by a strong power against a weak one in South America. It clearly led to the assumption of a protectorate by the United States over Mexico and South American countries. It involved the necessity of our preparing ourselves with arms and ammunition to execute the duties and obligations of such a protectorate. Venezuela had been in a state of constant turmoil and revolution for twenty-five years, said Mr. Sewell. These people of the Southern Republics were subject to internal discord and revolution. It behooved the United States to pause and consider well the extent of an obligation which made us the guardian of these turbulent countries. That they would give offence to foreign countries was undoubted. Mr. Sewell said that he felt the circumstances of the moment had led to an extreme assertion of our position, which would entail serious results if carried out by Congress. The first ebullitions of popular excitement, and the desire of some persons to indulge in cheap utterance based on supposed patriotism, were not the best basis for intelligent and serious action. In conclusion, Mr. Sewell said:—"I cannot but think that a matter which has been slumbering so many years in a state of diplomatic repose might have been delayed a few months longer. It seems hardly wise, just at this time, to have thrown into the political arena this further cause for disorder and disturbance. A zealous upholding of the nation's honour on the part of the Executive is to be commended. But we have a right to expect that discretion and good judgment will be exercised in bringing to a culmination an issue so grave and serious as that now presented. It appears to me that in this respect the action of the Executive has been alike unreasonable and premature. The country is in a state of recovery, or convalescence, from the financial malady of 1893. In this view, it appears to me that the action of the Executive has been most unreasonable."

At the close of Mr. Sewell's speech Mr. Daniel (Dem., Virginia) gave notice that he would address the Senate on the subject next Thursday. Mr. Wolcott (Rep., Colo.) had previously given notice that he would speak on Mr. Sewell's resolution on Monday

WHEN BULLDOG MEETS BULLDOG, THEN==



(GROVER CLEVELAND, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.)

(THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, PRIME MINISTER OF ENGLAND.)

ARBITRATION'S NOT EASY.

THE VENEZUELAN COMMISSION.

The Venezuelan Commission has invited the Governments of Great Britain and Venezuela to submit to it all the evidence in their possession to further the work of the commission, to be represented before it by attorneys, and all this with the reservation that such representation and appearance shall not be deemed an abandonment of any right or position heretofore assumed. It has done this in order that the proceedings of the commission may not be said to be ex-parte, that the truth may appear, and that time may be saved in the enquiry with which the commission is charged.

ANOTHER CLOUD.

Buenos Ayres, Jan. 20.—A despatch to La Prensa, from Rio Janeiro, says that Señor Carlos Carvalho, Minister of Foreign Affairs, is preparing a note demanding the immediate restitution of the Island of Trinidad, which has been occupied by Great Britain. It is stated that a refusal on the part of Great Britain to restore Trinidad to Brazil will lead to a rupture of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Brazil.

COAL FOR CANADA.

Detroit, Mich., Jan. 20.—A Washington special to the Evening News says:—"Perhaps the most important of all the recent rumours of unrest and of possible further struggle is one which comes exclusively to the News this morning. From Buffalo great fleets of barges, heavily laden with coal, will shortly start across Lake Erie for Canadian ports, from which the cargoes of the vessels will be distributed along the Canadian frontier. More than one million tons of coal have recently been contracted for Canadian delivery from the Pennsylvania coal fields. There may be in the state of the market or the prospects of a speedy revival in business something that has caused these immense shipments at this unusual time of the year, but such is not the idea of the Pennsylvania coal operatives with whom contracts for coal have been negotiated, or who have knowledge of the transaction on the part of Canadians in the regions in which the mines are located. At least one coal mining firm has evidence which leads it to believe that the purchases of coal have been made in behalf of agents of the British or, at least, of the Dominion Government. If the shipments were destined from the Nova Scotia fields for delivery in the United States the transactions might be explained as due to the tendency of the traffic bill in the Senate contemplating a horizontal increase in imports, but this traffic is from the United States to Canada, and nothing is known of any proposition looking to an increase in the duty imposed by the Dominion on coal brought in from other countries. Fuel

has come to be as important an article in aquatic warfare as gunpowder. Accordingly the shipments of 1,000,000 tons of coal, to be distributed along the Canadian districts bordering on the great lakes, is to be considered as possessing almost as much hostile significance as similarly large and unusual shipments of explosive ammunition. It is to be inquired for what possible use can these great quantities of fuel, bought, it is alleged by Government agents, be destined unless they have been purchased as a precautionary measure, in view of possible international trouble in the future. Congressman Corliss has received private information of the placing of the contracts, with a personal expression of the opinion of his informants that the purchase of the coal is a war measure. The Congressman will lay the information in his possession before the proper authorities in Washington."





M. LOUBET, RECENTLY ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH SENATE



Emile Loubet, recently elected president of the senate of France, is one of the ablest and most successful politicians of the republic. He has made no great record for statesmanship, but is great in the small details of government. He is strong with the people and enjoys a high reputation for integrity.

M. Loubet is between 45 and 50 years old, and as he is in full physical vigor hopes to live for greater honors. He has already held the positions of prime minister, minister of the interior and minister of the public works. No scandals have attached to his administration of any office.

their classes for the day are over, give advice gratis to the poor, and the experiment proves as beneficial an experience to the students as it is useful to the clients.

Plan of the Petit Journal.

I must not forget to mention in this connection that a newspaper of Paris, which has perhaps the largest circulation of any in the world, the *Petit Journal*, has for the

ground, and the Mohammedan faithful all over the world will be expected to contribute to the erection of the building. The government of Algeria, the administration of the protectorate of Tunis, the ministry of public instruction and that of the interior will spare something from their regular appropriations for the purpose, and large sums have been promised by the sultan and the

BRITAIN. Jan. 25.—(Copyright, 1896, by Associated Press.)—A project is now being seriously considered by the emperor and the cabinet of providing for a formidable increase of the German navy. It is well known that his majesty has long wished to do this, but the refusal of the reichstag to vote the necessary funds has rendered the scheme impossible up to this time. Recent events, however, especially the attitude of Great Britain toward Germany, have ripened the plan to accomplish an extension of the navy without the grant of large sums of money by the reichstag.

The emperor, during the last fortnight has had a number of conferences with authorities on colonial affairs with reference to the position and needs of the German colonies, compared with the naval resources, and the inadequacy of the German navy, particularly in first-class ironclads and cruisers, to maintain Germany's pretensions as a colonial power was generally recognized. This year's budget shows but a small item for new battleships, and the present reichstag, which expires in 1898, will not vote large sums for the navy.

Big Loan Projected.

Therefore, in order to overcome the difficulty thus presented, it is now proposed to raise a loan of 300,000,000 marks, the means for which are to be obtained by the conversion of the 4 per cent funds into 3½ per cents. His majesty sounded the leaders of the parties, both in the reichstag and in the diet, during the recent fetes, and received encouraging replies. Dr. Miquel, the minister for finance, was favorable to the scheme, but Prince Hohenlohe, the chancellor, and several of the other ministers are opposed to it.

The colonial party has been much encouraged by Emperor William's speech, delivered Jan. 18 last, upon the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the re-establishment of the German Empire. It has stirred them to increased activity, and at the enthusiastic meeting of the colonial association on Thursday last, Dr. Peters, the explorer, urged that a petition be drawn up and addressed to the chancellor in favor of a large increase of the navy in order to protect Germany's world-wide interests, at, for instance, Adelaide, San Francisco on the Orinoco, and on the Yang-Tse-Kiang. Among other things, Dr. Peters said that Germany must have the power to act, and not have to waste time in talk. Prince von Arenberg, who presided, was more conservative in his remarks. He condemned any precipitate action and pointed out that it was impossible for Germany to grant a navy which would rival that of Great Britain.

Petition to Be Formally Presented.

The meeting, nevertheless, adopted Dr. Peters' resolution, and a petition setting forth the demands of the colonial association will be presented to the chancellor and to the reichstag. It will contain the request that 300,000,000 marks, about \$75,000,000, be appropriated to increase the navy.

An instructive contrast to the age demands is furnished in the special report of the



MAPOf
SOUTH AMERICA

JOHN BULL

JOHN
JAYLOR

A CONTINUATION



MAP of
SOUTH AMERICA

WOULD MAKE THIS

1871-1872

1873-1874

1875-1876

1877-1878

1879-1880

1881-1882

1883-1884

1885-1886

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1896.

BANKERS' POWER.

Few Nations Can Go to War
Without Their Aid.

CHAUNCEY DEPEW'S VIEW.

Argument in Favor of
Arbitration.

BIG SOLDIERS FOR PEACE.

Position of England and the
United States.

Secretary Olney Confident of a Settle-
ment of the Venezuela Dispute—The
British Press.

Albany, N.Y., Jan. 21. Dr. Chauncey M. Depew delivered an address before the New York State Bar Association here this evening on the subject of "Patriotism and Jingoism." In the course of his address Dr. Depew said—

Only one power keeps the nations of Europe from instantly declaring war. The bankers and business men have become the arbitrators between nations. In modern conflicts so vast and expensive are the preparations for operations of war that the largest purse wins. Neither Germany nor France nor Austria nor Italy nor Russia nor Spain can hurl their armies at each other and equip their navies for fight without the consent of the great bankers of the world. The only two nations which may be said to be free from this thralldom, because of their wealth, their commerce and credit, are the United States and Great Britain. "War," said Erasmus, "is the malady of Princes." He might have added, the danger of republics. The events of the past few weeks have demonstrated how easy it is to arouse the fighting blood among our own people. A generation has come upon the stage since the civil war who are eager for battle. The greatest ministers and leaders for peace whom I ever met were the generals whose fame fills the world, and whose victories were in our civil strife—Grant and Sherman and Sheridan. During the whole of their lives after the war they were the apostles and preachers of peace. There are occasions when war is both right and necessary, and a nation must embark upon it without counting the consequences, but the issue of battle is never certain, nor does the arbitrament of war always end in right and justice. Our war of 1812 was right, if our dispute with Great Britain and our demand for fair treatment and justice could not be settled by arbitration. It is a curious and impressive fact that the purpose for which that war was made was not gained by the war. The *casus belli* was not considered in the treaty of peace, but was settled afterwards by arbitration. The civil war might have been averted at one time by payment of a proper indemnity to the owners of the slaves.

LAWYERS AS SOLDIERS.

The lawyers did their best to bring about a peaceful settlement between the north and south, but when the armed struggle came they enlisted for the war in proportion to their number in far greater ratio than any other profession, calling or vocation. Not only all the volunteer officers who became brigadiers and major generals, and won distinctions equal to that attained by



the gallant graduates of West Point, were members of the profession of law. No lawyer better fulfilled his duty to his profession, lived up to a higher ideal in politics and in public life, or performed more heroic deeds upon the battlefield, than that brave and distinguished member of our association, who died within the last week, General Francis C. Barlow. Now is the time for the profession to perform a great work upon the lines of the lawyers of the centuries in promoting international arbitration. The present dispute between the English-speaking races which is agitating the world calls for both practical wisdom and legal acumen for its solution. There is no dissent in this country from the Monroe doctrine as promulgated by President Monroe and interpreted by Jefferson, Madison, Webster and Calhoun. No European aggressions upon the Americas will be permitted by the United States which endanger our safety or subject our sister republics to European despotism. Yet, anyone who studies the Monroe doctrine will see how, in each individual case, except where there is a flagrant violation like the French invasion of Mexico, the applicable interpretation of it should be the subject of judicial determination. The President's message to Congress presents a novel view of the principle. A slight extension of this principle compels us to assume a protectorate over all these republics. Their enterprises and industries are almost entirely owned, controlled and carried on by Americans, English, Germans, French and Italians. Their Governments are in almost perpetual revolution, and the military dictator of the hour confiscates property right and left, except that of foreigners. If he could rely upon the United States to protect him he would treat the lives, possessions and business of the Germans, English, Italians and French with the same partial appropriation as he does those of his countrymen. These nations would demand reparation and redress. This would involve the collection of substantial damages, and we would be in a measure bound to assume the quarrel. We might, at the whim or necessities of the successful military dictator of Venezuela or the Argentines, of Brazil or Bolivia, be involved in frequent wars with the powers of Europe. This would require an immense navy and the largest standing army.

FEELING AGAINST ENGLAND.

The feeling in the United States against Great Britain is more easily aroused than against other countries for many reasons. In the first place we are blood relations, and family quarrels are always hasty and fierce. But while this feeling has not abated with us, there has come into power in Great Britain a force unknown and unheard of at the time of George III., or the war of 1812, or even our civil war. It is the all-powered democracy of

Great Britain which universal suffrage has brought to the front, and which to-day the real power in the British Islands. This force is cordial in its friendship for our people and country. There are no obstacles in the way of a peaceful adjustment, upon a permanent basis, of all present and future difficulties between the democratic spirit—the people—of the United States and the democratic spirit—the people—of Great Britain.

NEWS FOR CANADIANS.

The United States is the only nation so situated that it can with honor and safety move upon the pathway of peace for an international Court of Arbitration. North of us lies Canada, with its vast territories—larger in area than the United States—but with a sparse population of some five millions of people. It seeks no hostilities, and has no disagreements with our republic. It is anxious for commercial union. Political union will follow whenever we desire to extend the invitation. So there is no danger from Canada. To the south of us is Mexico, with only twelve millions of people, of whom ten millions are Indians, uneducated and degraded. We need fear nothing from Mexico; nor do we want her. That population incorporated into our political system would corrupt our suffrage. The Presidency of the United States and the political control of the republic might be decided by the Indians of Mexico. Further away are the republics of the Isthmus of Darien and of South America. The perpetual wars between these nations and the constant internal revolutions and feuds which have characterized them have left that part of the western hemisphere at the end of 300 years, though its climate, soil and resources are as attractive and great as those of the north, with a scattered population of fewer than 20,000,000, two thirds of whom are Indians and half breeds. We have no fear of them. And now look at Europe. It is 3,000 miles across the ocean from the nearest seaport of any European power to any seaport of the United States. Our country has 70,000,000 of people, and \$70,000,000,000 of accumulated wealth. So great has been our prosperity, because of 102 years of peace and only five of war, so free have we been from the stifles which have exhausted the resources of Europe, that the taxing power of the Government has not yet touched for any purpose the real and personal property represented in these \$70,000,000,000 of accumulated wealth.

FIGHTING STRENGTH.

According to the census of 1890 we have 3,200,000 fighting men. The experience of civil war has shown that from them could be drafted, mobilized and instructed in three months 3,000,000 of soldiers. All the ports and navies of the world could not land upon our shores an army which could march 100 miles from the seacoast and ever return to their ships. With all the world



SEPTEMBER 4, 1902.

The Globe.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

President Roosevelt made a second reference to the Monroe doctrine in a speech at Proctor, Vermont, the other day. He defined the doctrine as an enforcement of the principle that this continent must not be treated as a subject for political colonization by any European power. The continental press, with amusing ingenuity, have interpreted these utterances of the President as aimed at powers which already have American possessions. Great Britain is the only power which has considerable possessions in the western hemisphere. Besides Canada and Newfoundland, she has considerable interests in the West Indies, Trinidad, British Guiana and British Honduras. In his Proctor speech the President dwelt particularly on the fact that the enforcement of the Monroe doctrine was not an aggressive policy, but, on the other hand, a policy of peace. It is quite evident that there is no idea in the President's mind that the doctrine involves the disturbance of established conditions, for these could not be disturbed without a conflict that would shake North America from shore to shore. It is to be feared, therefore, that the interpretation offered by the European press is rather suggested by the chagrin that they feel that Great Britain can afford to be quite indifferent as to the Monroe doctrine.

There can be little question that no power is less in the President's mind than Great Britain when he lays down what he considers to be the Monroe doctrine. He must be a very purblind observer of international politics who does not see that the cardinal principle of Great Britain's foreign policy is to leave things as they are, and as that is the essence of the Monroe doctrine, so far as this hemisphere is concerned, it ought to be eminently pleasing to her. Her sister nations in Europe may petulantly say that, having got all she can carry, she does not want any more and is averse to seeing any of her rivals make further acquisitions. If this is a correct estimate of her position, then she should have no objection to the Monroe doctrine, even from the selfish standpoint. That all the English papers do not take this view is evident enough, however, from some articles which have appeared in *The Saturday Review*. *The New York Journal* has seized on the articles in *The Review* and on one in *The London Spectator* to aim the President's remarks at England. *The Journal* might have left *The Spectator* out of its account, for that paper is almost a partisan of the Monroe doctrine. *The Spectator's* only offence is its remark that the enforcement of the doctrine must ultimately rest on sea-power. The President himself admits this, and urges his countrymen to build warships, so as to be able to back up their words by deeds if need be. *The Journal* derives the same lesson from the situation, but is apparently irritated because anybody should doubt that so puissant a nation would be able to make its word good, whether it had the ships or not.

The Journal judges that *The Review* is mortified by the "American invasion," and goes on to exult in this fashion:—

"The 'American invasion' may be mortifying, but it is inevitable and educating. We are not to blame if the English are behind the times and find that we can supply them with things they had not the wit to invent."

it is inevitable and educating. We are not to blame if the English are behind the times and find that we can supply them with things they had not the wit to invent. We invade the English market because we offer better and cheaper goods there than English manufacturers are able to offer. That may be trying to the sensibilities of the English producer, but it pleases the English consumer or he would not buy the better American goods. And the English producer is being goaded into emulation. He is 'getting a move on.' We are quickening the British intellect, and that is no light boon to confer."

Could there be more misconceptions and general muddle-headedness crowded into equal space? It is true that British imports from the United States greatly exceed their exports to that country, but it has to be remembered that 90 per cent. of the former is in products which require a small average of ingenuity and intelligence to produce, while almost the whole of the two hundred million dollars' worth of goods which Great Britain sells the Americans are the result of the application of the highest ingenuity and skill in the processes of manufacture. And against these, too, the American manufacturer has to be protected by a tariff wall that ranges all the way from 50 to 100 per cent. in altitude. In view of this, the sentence, "We are quickening the British intellect," is what our French-Canadian friends would call *saugrenu*, or, to translate it, impudently absurd.

The Journal goes on to say that the doctrine in its negative form is "You shall not come," but in its positive form it is "You must go." And then comes this passage:—

"England, of all the old-world powers, is the last which should challenge the Monroe doctrine, because she has most to lose by its transformation from negative to positive. Every gun she mounts on this continent, from Halifax to Esquimaux, has its muzzle aimed at us. Her possession of the Bahamas, resort and shelter of the blockade runners, prolonged our civil war, and cost us thousands of lives and millions of money. England, through Canada and her West Indian Islands—neutral should we be at war with any nation other than herself—is a menace that would not be endured should a foreign war try the republic's temper. We are immensely stronger than we were at the close of the rebellion, when, had we felt able, we should have driven Great Britain from the American mainland and the islands which ought to be our military outposts."

Newspaper swashbuckling is easy and cheap, and we pray to be delivered from it. But we may be allowed to say that Canadians feel that they have something to say as to what their position on this continent is to be, and would decidedly object to being 'Monroed' or put under any fashion or form of tutelage. If we decide to maintain our present relations with the mother country, we will have something to say should any third party practically object to that relationship. We are not on this continent on sufferance. Our title to it is the same as that of the United States to the lands of the Union. We regard the Monroe doctrine, as we understand it, with benignant approval, but do not see where it circumscribes our freedom of action as equal partners in the development of the new world. Not a word of this is uttered in a spirit of desiring to bite our thumbs at our neighbors, but is a simple assertion of self-evident facts. At no time in our history have our people been better disposed towards our cousins or felt that they had more well-wishers in every part of the Union. But it is as well to have it understood that we require no guardian or protector, and we repudiate the assumption that we exist by virtue of anyone's forbearance or good-will. In spite of occasional voices to the contrary, we have great faith that there is a large and influential section of the people of the United States that is loyal to the great principles in which the nation was founded, and, as we do not believe that Canada will ever give that justice and liberty loving section cause of offence, we believe that our relations with the republic will always be as harmonious and satisfactory as they are at the present time—if anything, indeed, improving with the spread of more enlightened views as to trade and intercourse.

POSITION OF CANADA.

The Integrity of British Territory is Secured as Well as That of the Other American Powers.

(Special Correspondence of The Globe.)

London, Sept. 2.—Mr. Canning was the first Englishman who grasped the idea that the balance of power in the old world might be reconstituted from the new world. He lent his support to the Monroe doctrine when it was first proclaimed, and contended that England had more to gain and nothing to lose from the creation of Spanish-American States independent of European control. English sympathy for Spanish communities struggling for independence, and striving to work out their destinies as republican commonwealths rapidly waned after Mr. Canning's death; and for half a century the Monroe doctrine was regarded in this country as a characteristic bit of Yankee braggadocio. Mr. Froude, for example, drew a parallel between it and the famous Papal bull which proclaimed that Spaniards alone should own territory west of the Atlantic in the continent discovered by them. The authority of the Pope to order the political destinies of the new world was repudiated as soon as Spanish separatism was proclaimed by bucaneras, sea rovers, and colonists from other European lands; and, according to the old-time English view, the responsibility of decreeing that America was designed for America exclusively would be claimed by the United States Government as soon as there was a European raid upon South America under the flag of a plausible naval demonstration. Public opinion has boxed the compass since the Venezuela message and Mr. Canning's conclusions respecting the Monroe doctrine are now adopted by the best informed English writers. "It is a policy," remarks the leading journal, "to which this country has no right to take exception and which we have no interest in obstructing."

The Venezuela Affair.

The conversion of England to Mr. Canning's reasonable view began with the settlement of the Venezuela controversy. Before President Cleveland's message was delivered Lord Salisbury had contended that the boundary dispute concerned Great Britain and Venezuela alone, and that the Monroe doctrine had nothing to do with it. Under the settlement he virtually recognized the right of the United States to intervene and to arrange the conditions of arbitration. The British Government had officially recognized the Monroe doctrine, and although the benevolent protectorate exercised by the Washington Government might be disclaimed, both by Venezuela and the Spanish-American Republics, it could not be restricted to the swamps and forests of the Schomburgk line, but must logically be extended to the entire western hemisphere. "From this time forth," wrote one of the English commentators upon the Venezuela settlement, "the republics of South America, whether they like it or not, are under the wing of the American eagle." The European power having the largest interests in the western hemisphere had sanctioned the Monroe doctrine when he allowed the management of the foreign relations of Venezuela to pass temporarily into American hands. Logically there was no escape from the conclusion that the British Foreign Office had committed itself irreversibly to moral support of an American protectorate over the two western continents.

of a gigantic work of civilization for the convenience of all maritime nations. The Monroe doctrine is not operative against Great Britain now that the Venezuela question has been settled and the canal treaty revised in the American way. It tends to protect all British possessions in that quarter of the world against meddlesome diplomacy and European intrigue. As for the new canal treaty, it is an unmissable gain for England. Her merchant fleets will use the waterway, if it be contracted with American capital; and the British Government, while not responsible for its control, will command approaches to it at Bermuda, Halifax, Port Royal and Santa Lucia. While England has this circuit of coaling stations and naval arsenals, no other great European power is in a similar position, for there are no harbors in the mountainous French islands; and the Monroe doctrine tends to perpetuate this advantage by prohibiting the acquisition of territory in the West Indies and on the Spanish Main by Germany, Italy, Russia and other powers.

The Continental Critic.

English writers are so well pleased with the Monroe doctrine that they do not hesitate to defend it when continental critics inveigh against it as a staggering menace to Europe and an insolent usurpation of power against the United Kingdom. They affect amusement when Vienna wisecracks misinterpret the President's words as an official notice that the United States European power must turn over its possessions on the western continent to the Americans, and are as ready to explain why so many German journals should suddenly attempt to set the United States and Great Britain by the ears by exaggerating the risks of future conflict under the Monroe doctrine. Some of the English writers have a theory that the President had Germany in mind when he sought to explain this doctrine, sanctioned by English opinion as an act inspired by a spirit of accommodation and Anglo-Saxon feeling. So cordially is the Monroe doctrine accepted in England that President Roosevelt receives only verbal commendation when he asserts that the nations now existing on the western continent "must be left to work out their destinies among themselves," and that America, North and South, is "no longer to be regarded as the colonizing ground of any European power." The Times speaks with its old-time authority when it says: "We have

in Germany it is a Bull which has been taken by the horns, and in England it is the German ox that has been goaded into a display of the accuracy of Mr. Canning's judgment that sooner or later the policy of power among European States would be readjusted and regulated from Washington. The pendulum has swung during fifty years through a long arc from contemptuous neglect of the Monroe doctrine to exaggerated appreciation of its importance.

The Doctrine Revisited.

The Monroe policy, even when it was exposed to critical ridicule as a crude Yankee notion of no importance as international law, was silently respected. Decade after decade maritime Europe was conquering, colonizing and dividing Asia, Africa and the South Seas, and extending its sway over vast areas, but its holdings in the western world remained as they had been when the Monroe message was written. A comparison of the map of the globe in 1825 and in the present year shows how unceasing has been the land hunger of rival European nations everywhere save on the western continent. Respect for the Monroe doctrine has excluded the Spanish-American republics from territorial raids and campaigns of conquest which have been in progress throughout the world. The French invasion of Mexico was the exception that proved the rule, and the Venezuelan arbitration, the deliverance of Cuba and the revision of the canal treaty have been evidences of the vitality and increasing power of traditional American policy. The Monroe doctrine now has behind it not only seventy-five years of unbroken practice but also the material resources and moral force of a nation with whom no European power can venture to quarrel. England has reconciled itself to the policy. Germany is equally careful to avoid anything like obstruction of it, much less a direct challenge of the vital principle. The Monroe doctrine, like the costly armaments of Europe, helps to keep the peace of the world. It is one of the international processes by which the forces of the old and new worlds are kept in balance for the highest ends

SEPT. 13, 1902.

SEPTEMBER 13, 1902.

ENDS OFF THE AMERICAS.

Mr. Ford Discusses the Logic of Monroe's Doctrine.

GENERAL APPROVAL

The Times Endorses President Roosevelt's Views.

no reason to object to the protest of the United States against the acquisition of new territorial rights in North or South America by any European powers. That is not a principle of international law, but a question of policy, and one upon which every Government has an indisputable claim to take its own line."

Without contrasting so tolerant and sympathetic an utterance as this with the comments of the English press upon President Cleveland's Venezuelan message, when there was a general agreement that the Monroe doctrine did not enter into the serious diplomacy of nations, I find it more agreeable to recognize the intelligence and good sense which are disclosed by this complete transformation of opinion.

The Position of Canada.

British possessions in the new world are safeguarded, not endangered, by the President's protest against European intervention and colonization. Self-governing Canada is left at liberty to work out its own destiny and to secure immigration from every quarter of the world. It enjoys complete legislative autonomy under the British Crown, and is released from the costly policy of military and naval armaments; and it is in a favorable position for profiting by the maintenance of peace in the western hemisphere and by the construc-

The war with Spain and the revision of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty on American lines have completed this conversion of English opinion. The deliverance of Cuba when there had been a sustained conflict against Spanish rule and the establishment of a republic by the friendly offices of the United States were results in conformity with Mr. Canning's declaration of sympathy in favor of misgoverned colonies in their struggle for independence. The substitution of single for dual control over the isthmian canal was the natural sequel to American acceptance of responsibility for the restoration of peace and order in revolting Spanish colonies, and it seemed to involve a fulfillment of Mr. Canning's forecast that the new world would be called into existence to redress the balance of the old. British sympathy was with the United States in the war with Spain, and the settlement of the canal controversy was sanctioned by English opinion as an act inspired by a spirit of accommodation and Anglo-Saxon feeling. So cordially is the Monroe doctrine accepted in England that President Roosevelt receives only verbal commendation when he asserts that the nations now existing on the western continent "must be left to work out their destinies among themselves," and that America, North and South, is "no longer to be regarded as the colonizing ground of any European power." The Times speaks with its old-time authority when it says: "We have

of civilization.



Is nature's specific for
DIARRHŒA, DYSENTERY,
CRAMPS, PAIN IN THE STOMACH,
ACH, COLIC, CHOLERA MORBUS,
CHOLERA INFANTUM,
FEVER, SICKNESS, and all SUMMER COMPLAINTS in Children or Adults.
Its effects are marvellous.
Pleasant and Harmless to take.
Rapid, Reliable and Effective in its action.
IT HAS BEEN A HOUSEHOLD REMEDY FOR NEARLY SIXTY YEARS.
PRICE 30 CENTS.
REFUSE SUBSTITUTES. THEY ARE DANGEROUS.

Events.

the building of the *Servia* and *City of Rome*, each vessel with engines of over 10,000 horse power, and when the *City of Rome* ran her trial trip in September, 1881, people who looked on the stately vessel of 8,144 tons saw that the traditions of the past had been plainly forgotten. Other steamers, the *Alaska*, the *Oregon*, the *America*, the *Etruria*, and the *Umbria*, followed in the years between 1881 and 1883 with engines more powerful than those of the *City of Rome*, and with higher speed. But after her first voyage, there was again a pause for a little. It was felt that no higher speed could be hoped for with the single screw than that shown by the *Umbria* and *Etruria*, and as yet the twin-screw had not been employed for twin screw steamers.

"It was a curious democratic illustration, an effete aboriginal community making its almost foreign voice heard in the label of the newer speech that dominated the country."

In reality the "natives" were native-born Victorians. The writer of the history will have to avoid Victoria if he ever visits Australia.

Professor Gregory of the University of Melbourne is delivering a series of lectures on the "Geography of Victoria." In one of them he gave an instance of the happy-go-lucky fashion in which business was conducted in Downing street in the olden days. Half a century ago, when the Port Phillip province was detached from New South Wales and erected into a new colony under the name of Victoria, it was the intention of the Imperial Government of the day that the river Murrumbidgee should be the northern boundary. But the clerk in the Colonial Office, who copied out the enabling document, never having heard of the river with the long aboriginal name and being uncertain as to its proper spelling, ecologically substituted the river Murray in its stead. Nobody noticed the change, but it made a vast difference to the new colony. Victoria would have been twice its present

size, and the most powerful marine engines now, those of the Kaiser Wilhelm der Zweite, are 38,000 horse power, as compared with 18,000, the powerfullest history of advance in tonnage and engine power in little more than twenty years.

Paris has the record in trade papers, for the gay city has produced a journal, for beggars. The price is five cents—rather high, considering the somewhat straitened means of its readers—but it is interesting.

The advertisements are excellent reading for hard-up medics, though it is difficult to understand how the advertiser will receive an answer to the following:

Wanted—A blind man who can play the flute a little.

Probably some unfortunate dumb or confere of the man will tell his blind friend of the vacancy.

Here is a choice sample of a vacancy requiring awkward qualifications:

Wanted—A lame man who can play the flute a little.

Probably some unfortunate dumb or confere of the man will tell his blind friend of the vacancy.

Here is a choice sample of a vacancy requiring awkward qualifications:

Wanted—A lame man who can play the flute a little.

Probably some unfortunate dumb or confere of the man will tell his blind friend of the vacancy.

Here is a choice sample of a vacancy requiring awkward qualifications:

Wanted—A lame man who can play the flute a little.

Probably some unfortunate dumb or confere of the man will tell his blind friend of the vacancy.

Here is a choice sample of a vacancy requiring awkward qualifications:

Wanted—A lame man who can play the flute a little.

Probably some unfortunate dumb or confere of the man will tell his blind friend of the vacancy.

Here is a choice sample of a vacancy requiring awkward qualifications:

Wanted—A lame man who can play the flute a little.

Probably some unfortunate dumb or confere of the man will tell his blind friend of the vacancy.

Here is a choice sample of a vacancy requiring awkward qualifications:

Wanted—A lame man who can play the flute a little.

Probably some unfortunate dumb or confere of the man will tell his blind friend of the vacancy.

Here is a choice sample of a vacancy requiring awkward qualifications:

Wanted—A lame man who can play the flute a little.

Probably some unfortunate dumb or confere of the man will tell his blind friend of the vacancy.

Here is a choice sample of a vacancy requiring awkward qualifications:

Wanted—A lame man who can play the flute a little.

been adhered to, and would have included the valuable pastoral province known as Riverina, which stretches from the Murray to the Murrumbidgee. Although Melbourne, the Victorian capital, has always done most of the trade with Riverina, the district continues to be officially ruled from Sydney.

If the ladies have been enjoying the sweets of emancipation in Australia and New Zealand for some time and have been allowed to become Parliament members, baristers, stock brokers, insurance agents and cab drivers, they are beginning to realize that independence is not without its bitter as well. Equality of rights cannot be separated from equality of responsibility and even the lady named Frederika List was called upon to show cause why she should not contribute to the support of her husband. The latter was an old-age pensioner to the extent of six shillings a week, and it was proved that his wife was a landowner in her own right. She was ordered by the court to pay a further six shillings per week for her husband's maintenance.

While still on the subject of Australia, I may quote a burst of eloquence, the utterance of Hon. Daniel O'Connor, one of the members for the City of Sydney, who claims to be a literal descendant of the last King of Ireland:

"In rough and brutal philology a deputa-tion called them barons! I call them ladies of the bar. The white beauty of their character is unimpaired by the degradation of a slave. To hand out a roll of dandel at a driller's shop than a stimulant at a respectable hotel! You can see these noble little ladies of any Sabbath morning wending their way, after a late Saturday night, to a cathedral to worship the Eternal God. I defy those brutal excommunicators to besmear their characters."

Commenting upon the resolution of the Imperial conference relating to the adoption of the metric system, Mr. Harold Cox has written an interesting letter to *The Times*, in the course of which he says:—The average Englishman appears to imagine that the metric system consists of a formidable list of Greek and Latin names invented by French revolutionaries. This belief is so strong that the most common objection urged against the metric system is the difficulty of getting the mass of people to use names that are foreign to their minds. It is, therefore, of utmost importance that the following facts should be generally known. In almost every country where the metric system has been effectively introduced the nomenclature has been adapted to the traditional usages of the country. This is the all-pervading power of the French Government could compel the French and talk about kilograms. After more than a generation of struggle the simple device was adopted of deigning the livre as half a kilogram, and the work was done.

Today (the word livre is constantly used all over France, but everybody knows that a livre is exactly 500 grams, or half of one kilogram. The advantage of this recognition of a traditional name are practical as well as sentimental. In France, as well as in England, a very common weight is a quarter into "an eighth of a kilo" and the untrained brain is immediately confused.

This step, that France took after long before any general attempt was made to introduce the metric system. When the *livre* was established the kilo, and thus the way was prepared for the rest of the metric system. It was informed that throughout Germany the word *pfund* is universally used in preference to half-kilo.

The moral is that before attempting to make the use of the metric system compulsory we must show a regard for the habits of the people.



With a population of 3,350. This mass, Harland & Wolff of Belfast, and is eight feet longer than the Great

tem can be fitted in with the traditional usages of the English people. Hoping this is not difficult. Certain English weights and measures approximate very closely to convenient metric equivalents equal to half a kilo, the cent, to 50 kilos the ton to 1,000 kilos. Foreign usage has already familiarized us with the phrase "metric ton," we also need introducing these names to give the mind something to take hold of. "Metric point" at once suggests a weight lying at a point. Other links that might be used with advantage are the metric inch (25 millimetres), the metric hand (10 centimetres), the metric pint (one-half litre), the metric gallon (five litres).

I do not suggest that the use of these or any other names should for the present be made compulsory. My proposal is that in order to facilitate the introduction of the metric system these names should at once be given a precise legal value. Even in the present session it might be possible to give a simple declaration act providing that whenever the phrase "metric point" is used in a contract of sale it shall mean 500 grams, and so on.

The second lesson to be drawn from the experience of other countries is that decimal columns must precede the introduction of the metric system. It will be found that no country has yet adopted

In arms against us the vast interior of our continent, except in its industrial and economic phases, would know nothing of the trouble and never see a foreign uniform, except on a prisoner of war. Secure in our isolation, supreme in our resources, unequalled in our reserves, and free from dangerous neighbors, we occupy among the nations of the globe a position so exalted and safe that to compare us with other countries would be absurd. The statesman or the politician who really fears for the safety of this country is a fool. The statesman or politician who does not fear (because he knows better), and who yet preaches of our weakness and our vulnerability, is a demagogue, and he insults the intelligence of the American people.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

This great reservoir of force for all purposes—the American Republic—this mightiest engine of war and most beneficent power for peace on the face of the globe, can extend the right hand of fellowship to warring brethren across the Atlantic and promulgate with honor and dignity a scheme for an international tribunal and lead in the movement. Had there been an international court of arbitration in the Venezuelan matter, Lord Salisbury could not have pleaded that there was a boundary line embracing territory so long and unquestionably held by the British that they could not in honor submit the question of the title to the court. Both the English and the Americans have been educated to believe that though anybody may make a claim upon any property, the court can be relied upon to dismiss the complaint if it is unworthy of being entertained, or disavow jurisdiction should there be any doubt, or, if it considers the matter, to adjust it upon the eternal principles of justice and right. The idea of securing at an early date an international court representing and embracing all the nations of Europe and North and South America is probably at present Utopian. But the United States and Great Britain have no reason to be guided by the standards of the continent. They have the same common law. Their legislation has been for the past 50 years along similar lines of progress and liberty. Their courts and methods of procedure are alike in most of their characteristics. It is possible for these two great countries out of this present difficulty to evolve a tribunal of international law and justice, which shall be in perpetual session, whose members shall be selected with such care, whose dignity shall receive such recognition and whose reputation shall be so great that each nation can submit to it any question in dispute, and bow to its decision with safety and honor. We, the lawyers of the United States, and our brethren the lawyers of Great Britain, faithful to the traditions of our profession and the high calling of our order, can agitate and

educate for the creation of this great court. The closing of the nineteenth, the most beneficent and progressive of centuries, would be made glorious by giving to the twentieth this rich lesson and guide for the growth of its humanities and the preservation and perpetuity of civilization and liberty.

CONFIDENT OF SETTLEMENT.

Washington, Jan. 21.—Secretary of State Olney believes that all danger of trouble with England over the Venezuelan boundary dispute has passed. He has said to a leading member of Congress that the affair wears an entirely different look now than it did a few weeks ago. The Secretary did not say what arrangements had been made with Great Britain or what the nature of the settlement would be, but he did say that the prospect of an amicable understanding was regarded by him as certain. In fact he felt certain a settlement of the whole matter would be made by the two Governments before the Venezuelan commission could make its investigation and report.

HOPES FOR SETTLEMENT.

London, Jan. 21.—The Times to-morrow will give unusual prominence to a Washington despatch from its correspondent, G. W. Smalley, asserting that he has personal knowledge of the existence in the White House and the State Department of a strong and cordial wish for an early and complete settlement of the dispute with Great Britain on terms that will involve no discredit to either Government, and also the existence of the belief that such a settlement may be speedily reached. Mr. Smalley adds that good advice has already been given to Venezuela, and may be given more effectively. The Times, commenting on the foregoing and on Mr. Smalley's assertion that there has been a sudden change in the spirit of the Senate, will express its pleasure at the cheering news, and will add that the absence of a desire to hasten Senator Davis' resolution will allow time for the forces that are making for peace to operate. The paper notes the conciliatory and modest language of Justice Brewer's letter to Secretary Olney, but says it thinks it must be obvious to the Americans themselves that the origin of the Venezuelan commission and the manner in which its creation is regarded in the United States make it altogether impossible for Great Britain to recognize its doings either directly or indirectly. Lord Salisbury's original objection to arbitrate concerning districts settled years ago by British subjects and under British law still holds good, but the American Government must be well aware of the perfect willingness on this side to discard the Schomburg line and arbitrate on all the disputed territory, excluding only the districts the British or Venezuelans have permanently settled. This basis for negotiations is open for Venezuela to seek at



any time. It certainly would not be rejected here, but it is impossible for Great Britain to resume diplomatic relations with Venezuela until the latter shall have made the first advance.

THE BRITISH PRESS.

London, Jan. 21.—The *Globe* publishes a severe article on the invitation of the United States-Venezuelan commission to the Governments of Great Britain and Venezuela to submit to the commission all of the evidence in their possession which is likely to further the work of the investigation, and also inviting these two Governments to be represented before it by attorneys, without prejudice to either's claims, and says:—"Great Britain will never allow this monstrous claim to determine the territory of a British colony within its jurisdiction. No power could admit it except at the close of a long and disastrous war. Were such a demand made by any other power, our only reply would be to hand its Ambassador his passport and mobilize the fleet. Will these pernicious commissioners undertake to answer for the effect upon their own countrymen of offering the Premier a chance to snub the American Secretary of State?"

The *Daily News* says that it regards the adoption by the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations of the resolution of Senator Davis supporting the Monroe doctrine as a most serious step. It adds:—"The sooner Lord Salisbury discovers a method of arbitration the better. The Venezuelan commission hangs fire, not perhaps without President Cleveland's connivance. If he is giving us time we would be foolish not to take it."

The *Chronicle* says it is probable that England and Venezuela will order inquiries to be made into the settlements and concessions of land in the disputed territory. This will offer a basis for a renewal of negotiations, and it is now thought will be the form of arbitration that will be resorted to.

The *Daily News* will to-morrow say in connection with the letter of the Venezuela commission requesting Secretary Olney to ask Great Britain and Venezuela to lay before the committee their sides of the boundary dispute that Justice Brewer displayed genuine statesmanship in drafting the letter. It adds that the request furnishes Lord Salisbury an opportunity that ought not to be lost. The Prime Minister would act with wisdom and dignity if he complied with the request.

FRANCE AND BRAZIL.

New York, Jan. 21.—The *Herald's* special from Buenos Ayres says:—France, through her Minister, has informed the Brazilian Government that she agrees to arbitration of the Amapan boundary question. She will, however, absolutely refuse to discuss the details of the affair of May 16, 1895, in which French

subjects were attacked in the Amapan territory. In this incident she insists that the guilty Brazilians shall be dismissed from office in the contested territory, and that they be punished without delay.

BRITAIN'S CLAIMS TO TRINIDAD.

The British Minister has handed to the Brazilian Foreign Office a note from Lord Salisbury, in which are embodied the points held as the foundation for England's claim to the island of Trinidad. The British Prime Minister says that, while the English are in actual possession, in the exercise of a conciliatory spirit the Government is willing to accept arbitration as a means of determining the rightful ownership. Brazil must reply definitely as to whether she will accept this friendly proposition at the end of the current month, or on February 12.

The note further says that when the British Parliament opens the declaration that England now occupies Trinidad will be announced in the Queen's speech, and that unless Brazil gives reason for delay in arbitrating the dispute, by showing better proofs of ownership than those already advanced, the island is lost to the republic.

London, Jan. 21.—The *Morning Post* will to-morrow publish a despatch from Rio Janeiro saying it is reported that the Brazilian corvette, Benjamin Constant, has sailed for Trinidad to take possession of that island.

London, Jan. 21.—The Brazilian Legation here denies the story printed by *The Prensa* of Buenos Ayres to the effect that Dr. Garvatho, Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs, would demand from Great Britain the immediate restitution of the Island of Trinidad, off the coast of Brazil, which was recently occupied by the British and which Brazil claims in her territory. The *Prensa* stated that in the event of the demand being refused diplomatic relations between Brazil and Great Britain would probably be ruptured. It was stated at the Consulate that, although Brazil declined to arbitrate the question of the ownership of the island, the negotiations to decide the question would be continued.

A CONCESSION CANCELLED.

Buenos Ayres, Jan. 21.—The Argentine Government has cancelled the concession granted the English cable company to land at La Plata, on the ground that the company had failed to secure rightfully the other landing points necessary for its successful operation. This action, it is understood, is taken in concert with Brazil, and has direct bearing upon the Trinidad Island dispute. Argentina denies England's rights to the Falkland Islands, and will join Brazil in resisting English claims to those islands and to Trinidad.



五

England for the splendid front she is now showing to her enemies, and rejoicing that he is of English stock. It takes a high degree of courage thus to stem the flood of jingoism which the majority of his colleagues in both Houses seem to think leads on to success at the polls. The two parties have been vying with each other to score the highest point in aggressive Americanism. The most peaceful members of Congress, those most friendly to Britain, those most convinced of the impropriety of United States interference, have been swept along by what they supposed to be a popular wave. Few of them dared to raise the faintest protest against the general drift towards war. Congress gradually toned down, it is true, as it began to catch the real sense of the country from the letters, sermons, meetings, and newspaper articles opposing its hasty action, but it still believes in jingoism. That it is not now so ardent, however, is manifest from the reception that Senator Davis' bill defining the Monroe doctrine appears to have met. Senator Wolcott's splendid speech is likely to knock some more of the fervour out of the jingoids. Even more creditable to him than his fairness and courage are the noble sentiments to which he

gave utterance when speaking of the civilizing and Christianizing work that he believed the two English-speaking nations are called to do. "Whatever," he says, "of advancement and progress for the human race the centuries shall bring us must largely come, in my opinion, through the spread of the religion of Christ and the dominance of the English-speaking people, and wherever you find both you find communities where freedom exists and law is obeyed." Such sentiments as these are rarely heard in Congress, and expressed by so distinguished a Senator as Mr. Wolcott they must have a most wholesome effect. Senator Lodge, with his boasted culture and boasted Angloism, said:

Paris, Jan. 21.—The Temps, in an article on the Anglo-American dispute, asks whether Senator Davis imagines that Europe will accept without protest the extravagant innovation contained in his resolution anent the Monroe doctrine, or if the States of Central and South America will submit to slavery without protection. President Cleveland, it adds, must regret that he helped to create the frame of mind in which the resolution originated.

JANUARY 24, 1896.

The bravest, worthiest utterance made by any American public man upon the Venezuelan boundary dispute was the speech delivered on Wednesday in the Senate by Senator Wolcott. That oration deserves to stand to the everlasting honour of the statesman who made it. Its fairness and courage must startle the American people, who have been listening so long to sounding, flamboyant, and insulting declamation against England. Out of this hellion of spread-eaglesism they hear one of the strongest, most respected characters in the Senate condemning the stand taken by the United States, denying the application of the Monroe doctrine to the question, eulogizing

England for the splendid front she is now showing to her enemies, and rejoicing that he is of English stock. It takes a high degree of courage thus to stem the flood of jingoism which the majority of his colleagues in both Houses seem to think leads on to success at the polls. The two parties have been vying with each other to score the highest point in aggressive Americanism. The most peaceful members of Congress, those most friendly to Britain, those most convinced of the impropriety of United States interference, have been swept along by what they supposed to be a popular wave. Few of them dared to raise the faintest protest against the general drift towards war. Congress gradually toned down, it is true, as it began to catch the real sense of the country from the letters, sermons, meetings, and newspaper articles opposing its hasty action, but it still believes in jingoism. That it is not now so ardent, however, is manifest from the reception that Senator Davis' bill defining the Monroe doctrine appears to have met. Senator Wolcott's splendid speech is likely to knock some more of the fervour out of the jingoists. Even more creditable to him than his fairness and courage are the noble sentiments to which he gave utterance when speaking of the civilizing and Christianizing work that he believed the two English-speaking nations are called to do. "Whatever," he says, "of advancement and progress for the human race the centuries shall bring us must largely come, in my opinion, through the spread of the religion of Christ and the dominance of the English-speaking people, and wherever you find both you find communities where freedom exists and law is obeyed." Such sentiments as these are rarely heard in Congress, and expressed by so distinguished a Senator as Mr. Wolcott they must have a most wholesome effect. Senator Lodge, with his boasted culture and boasted jingoism, and



Daily Mail

TORONTO, THURSDAY, JANUARY 23,

— 1896 —

NEW MONROEISM.

Senator Wolcott Delivers an
Able Speech.

OPINION OF THE DOCTRINE

He Holds It Does Not Apply
to the Venezuela Case.

WARM EULOGY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Intensity of the Anti-English Feeling in
Caracas, Venezuela.

London, Jan. 22.—The report which was received here to-day from Rio de Janeiro that the Brazilian Government had despatched the cruiser Benjamin Constant to occupy the Island of Trinidad, concerning the possession of which a dispute has existed for some time past between Great Britain and Brazil, is not believed at the Brazilian Legation here, or in other official quarters. It is stated that, on the contrary, the negotiations between Great Britain and Brazil are continuing on the most friendly basis.

A LEGAL APPOINTMENT.

It is officially announced that the Hon. H. A. Bovell, Attorney-General of the Island of Barbadoes, has been appointed Attorney-General of British Guiana.

MR. G. W. SMALLEY'S OPINIONS.

Mr. G. W. Smalley, correspondent of the London Times, cabled from Washington to his paper to-day as follows:—"The full force of English objection to the Venezuelan commission has never, I think, been appreciated here. Americans are surprised when they are told that English recognition of the commission is impossible. They hardly understand why they should be warned by a London evening paper that an American claim to determine a British boundary is one which could only be conceded after defeat in a long war, and that, if such a demand were made by any other power, it would be met by handing their Ambassador his passports and mobilizing a fleet. Such language does not clarify the visions of the Americans. It simply creates irritation and resentment. The writer who used it might have reached the American mind if he had merely asked what Americans would say if the case were reversed, and if England should appoint a commission to determine the boundary of an American State.

"Justice Brewer's letter is discussed here as if it embodied a perfectly natural appeal for the friendly co-operation of England in the work of the commission. That also is the view of the Administration." Mr. Smalley suggests that in view of a sincere desire in Washington to see the full text of the British case that Lord Salisbury publish the document as a supplement to the London Gazette. Mr. Smalley continues—"There is here a real desire to see his whole case. This desire is official, as well as general. The documents are not wanted for controversial purposes, but as helpful to an amicable adjustment, and now more strongly than ever, and the Government is prepared to look on all technical questions relating to the boundary itself with an impartial eye."



LONDON PRESS OPINIONS.

London, Jan. 23.—The Chronicle, with reference to the Venezuela question, congratulates the Times on the candour and open-mindedness which has led it into the rational path that two great countries are now pursuing. The Chronicle then proceeds:—"Only do not let us deceive ourselves. It is very pleasant to read such speeches as Senator Wolcott's, but America is absolutely solid for arbitration over Venezuela, and arbitration and we cannot and will not refuse."

The Graphic, commenting upon the welcome change in the official attitude of America, thinks that "we cannot join the commission, but it is not too late for America to urge Venezuela to accept our offer of arbitration. If it went against us, we might then agree to arbitration of the Schomburg line."

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

Washington, Jan. 22.—The Senate galleries were well filled to-day in anticipation of the speech of Senator Wolcott, of Colorado, on the Monroe doctrine. The Senator spoke earnestly, and was accorded close attention. After referring to the message of President Cleveland on the Venezuelan question, and the appointment of the commission to enlighten the country as to the true divisional line separating Venezuela and British Guiana, the Senator said that under the circumstances it would ordinarily seem to be the part of wisdom to refrain from further public comment on a subject of so sensitive and delicate a character until some decisive steps had been taken, or some obstacle had been encountered calling for legislative interference. The resolution which the Committee on Foreign Relations had reported, the effect of which might, in his opinion, be most far-reaching as affecting our policy and relations toward other friendly governments, required, he said, some discussion and careful investigation before we committed ourselves to their declarations.

THE DOCTRINE INAPPLICABLE.

Continuing, he said:—"The few remarks I shall make will be chiefly to the effect that the so-called Monroe doctrine has been misapplied in the pending controversy; that so much of President Monroe's message as referred to the colonization of portions of America by European powers could have no applicability to any boundary dispute now existing in South America that the hostility to the extension by European powers of their systems to any portion of this hemisphere, as expressed in that message, had especial reference to the systems of government which were based on the divine right of kings, and which were directed to the overthrow of all republics wherever existing; that the Monroe doctrine was in no wise intended as insisting upon republican forms of government in this hemi-

sphere, or as committing this Government to maintain the doctrine outside its own borders, or except as its own integrity might be affected; that this country is embarking upon a new and different policy from the one laid down by our fathers and that from 1821 until now Congress has uniformly declined to define the so-called Monroe doctrine, or to adopt it as a rule of

action. The existing condition of affairs makes the calm discussion of the principles of the Monroe doctrine most difficult at this time. It is not an easy or a gracious task to take, in this high forum, a position which apparently involves in the slightest degree the abandonment of that patriotic fervour which animates the breast of every citizen where our national pride or our country's honour is in question.

A DOCTRINE OF DEFENCE.

The Monroe doctrine was essentially a doctrine of self-defence, promulgated for our own preservation, and for no other purpose. When first enunciated our country was sparsely settled, and its boundaries but vaguely defined. To-day our own borders are defined, and we are menaced by no foreign foe. In the early years of the century, too, there seemed promise of the same advancement in civilization in South as in North America. That hope was long since dispelled. Instead of developing into self-respecting Republics the nations of South America have shown themselves so far, almost without exception, utterly unfitted for self-government. Their so-called republics are largely, and usually, military despotisms, based on force, and relying on bloodshedding and assassination for their establishment and for their brief continuance; the people are ignorant and submissive, the rulers arbitrary and cruel. The fact is that we have nothing in common with these countries. These people, Mr. President, although alien in race, language, and religion, are entitled to our friendly and affectionate regard as citizens of a sister republic; we owe them protection whenever the interests of free government or the cause of civilization is attacked by assaults upon their autonomy, but "beyond that point our obligation ceases." The description which I have given of the South American States generally applies with added force to Venezuela. Ever since her contest with Spain she has had revolutions at average intervals of eighteen months.

LET ENGLAND HAVE THE MINES.

Much of the present friction between Great Britain and Venezuela arises because of the recent development of gold fields in Southern Venezuela. Where the vexed boundary line will finally be located we cannot tell, but I sincerely hope it will rightfully be found to place these rich mines where the English-speaking people who develop them will not be subject to the caprice of the halfbreeds of Venezuela, and where English common law



and the certainty of its enforcement will throw over them shelter and protection. If the Senate, Mr. President, was not responsible for the original differences which have arisen between Great Britain and this country relative to the Venezuelan boundary, it must be admitted that we have done much towards keeping the question active, and the differences acute. For instance, the other day, after all the Venezuelan despatches had been published to the world, the Senator from Alabama saw fit to introduce a resolution having reference to the abortive revolution in the Transvaal.

THANK GOD HE WAS ENGLISH.

I protest that the introduction at this time of such a resolution was at least unfortunate, and that its motive might be easily misunderstood. But whatever the cause of the uprising, or the merits of the dispute, my attention at that crisis was diverted to another channel. France is a sister republic, and although most of her colonies commended in the resolution of the Senator from Alabama have fewer rights than Cuba, she is yet entitled to our consideration and sympathy because of her form of government; Germany has furnished us hundreds of thousands of worthy citizens, who are a credit to the Republic; Russia was our friendly ally in the late war. And yet, Mr. President, when I read that all those Governments, France, Germany, and Russia, had allied themselves together against Great Britain, and that the people of those little islands, compassed by the inviolate sea, in defence of what they deemed their rights, were marshalling their armies and assembling their navies, ready, undaunted, to face a whole world in arms, unyielding and unafraid, I thank God I was of that race. (Great applause.) Mr. President, we will protect our country and our country's interests with our lives; but we wage no wars of conquest. This Republic stands facing the dawn, secure in its liberties, conscious of its high destiny. Wherever in all the world the hand of the oppressed or the down-trodden is reached out to us we meet it in friendly clasp. Everywhere upon the earth it is our mission to ameliorate, to civilize, to Christianize to loosen the bonds of captivity, and point the souls of men to noble heights. Whatever of advancement and of progress for the human race the centuries shall bring us must largely come, in my opinion, through the spread of the Religion of Christ and the dominance of the English-speaking people, and wherever you find both, you find communities where freedom exists and law is obeyed. (Applause.) Blood is thicker than water, and until some quarrel divides us, which Heaven forbid, may these two great nations, of the same speech and lineage and tradi-

tions, stand as brothers, shoulder to shoulder, in the interest of humanity, by their union compelling peace, and awaiting the coming of the day when nation shall not lift sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

ANTI-BRITISH FEELING.

New York, Jan. 22.—The World this morning prints the following special despatch from Caracas, Venezuela:—The anti-English sentiment continues popular. An effigy of Lord Salisbury was prepared and carried through the streets last night, the multitude jeering it. The procession stopped at the Plaza, where a mock trial was held. The effigy was sentenced to death, and shot. Excited people pulled the clothing from the figure and tore it into pieces, which were distributed among the crowd.

A church in the town of Camaguana was robbed, and the sacred images despoiled. Two Englishmen were arrested on suspicion.

England's proposed method of arbitration, which has been published in the American press, is viewed here with suspicion, especially Chili's offer of mediation. If it is true that England has offered to purchase the disputed territory, it would not, and could not, be accepted by Venezuela, as the constitution forbids the disposal of any national territory.

President Crespo and his family, with a body guard of three hundred and fifty soldiers, have sought quiet on the sea coast.

With Secretary Nunez and clerks, the President is preparing his annual message to Congress, which meets in February. It is said it will be a vigorous document.

The releasing of political prisoners continues. Leon Ponte, editor of El Preconero, who was imprisoned a month ago for republishing an interview in the London Times relating to the attitude of President Crespo in the Urnan incident, was liberated to-day.

The revolutionary movement is dying out.

1871

1871

1871

1871

1871

1871

1871

1871

1871

1871

1871

1871

1871

1871

1871

1871

1871

1871

1871

1871

1871

1871

1871

1871

1871

1871

1871

1871

21

THE DAILY MAIL AND EMPIRE,

SATURDAY, JANUARY 25, 1896.

MONROE DOCTRINE.

WHAT WAS SAID IN BRITAIN SEVENTY-THREE YEARS AGO.

English Press Comment in 1823.—London
Papers all Endorsed Monroe's Message—
How the Times Defended the American
Policy Against French Criticism.

President Monroe's famous message, embodying the principle for which the United States Government is now contending with regard to Venezuela, says the New York Mail and Express, was sent to Congress December 2, 1823. In view of recent British press comments on President Cleveland's message, the following extracts from the editorials of leading English newspapers on President Monroe's message will be read with great interest:—

ENGLAND JOINS AMERICA.

The London Courier of December 24, 1823, said:—

The speech of the President of the United States is, in all its bearings, a document of more than usual importance.

The question of the independence and recognition of the South American States may now be considered as at rest. Great Britain has, as we have repeatedly shown, acknowledged their independence de facto; and the United States, their nearest neighbours, have not only acknowledged it, but have given a bold and manly notice to the Continental powers that they shall treat "any interposition with a view of oppressing or controlling them in any manner as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward themselves—and as dangerous to their peace and safety;" in other words, they shall view it as affording them just ground for war.

After so clear and explicit a warning, there is not one of the Continental powers, we suppose, that will risk a war with the United States—a war in which not only they could not expect to have either the aid or good wishes of Great Britain—but a war in which the good wishes of Great Britain (if she did not choose to give more efficient succour) would be all on the side of the United States. Thus, then, we repeat that the question may be considered to be set at rest; we shall hear no more of a Congress to settle the fate of the South American States. Protected by the two nations that pos-

sess the institutions and speak the language of freedom—by Great Britain on one side, and the United States on the other, their independence is placed beyond the reach of danger; and the Continental powers, unable to harm them, will do well to establish that friendly and commercial intercourse with them which they could never have done had they remained under the yoke of Old Spain.

ADMIRATION FOR MONROE.

The London Morning Chronicle of December 24, 1823, said:—

The American papers received yesterday contain the accounts of the opening of Congress and the message of the President of the United States. The communication of the chief office-bearer of the great Republic to the Legislature at this critical period, when the ambition of kings, not satisfied with the calamity which it has occasioned in Europe, threatens to rekindle the flames of war throughout the Western hemisphere, was looked forward to with the utmost anxiety. It is worthy of the occasion and of the people destined to occupy so large a space in the future history of the world.

What a contrast between the manly plainness of this State paper and the Machiavellism and hypocrisy of the declaration of the manifestoes of the Governments of this part of the world!

Whatever lately were the intentions of the French Ministers respecting South America, it is now asserted, from undoubted authority, that English policy has prevailed in Paris over that of Russia, and that not only will France not assist Spain in any attempt to subjugate her former American colonies, but will view not with indifference any support which Russia or any other nation may lend her for this purpose. This union of France and England in the great cause of American independence is another strong ground for expecting the continuation of the blessings of peace, and, consequently, an improvement in the public credit of nations. The speech of the President of the United States, so full of wisdom and just ideas, has, however, had more effect on the opinions of the dealers in the national securities than the abundance of money or the changed policy of France, for in it they see a sufficient guarantee for the maintenance of the freedom of the American continent.

LET CANADA JOIN THE STATES.

Bell's Weekly Messenger of December 27, 1823, said:—

The main object of any interest during the week now passed is the



arrival of the speech of the President of the United States. It is a document of the first interest and importance. It is interesting, because it is a brief, simple, and direct exposure of Republican Government; always true, plain dealing, and sincere. It is important because, fearing nothing, it conceals nothing, and is totally divested of all trick, artifice, commonplace jargon, which renders the diplomacy of Europe so much more than merely nugatory.

ing:—Mr. Monroe, who is not a sovereign, who has himself told us that he is only the first delegate of the people, has taken in his message the tone of a powerful monarch, whose armies and fleets are ready to go forth on the first signal. He does more; he prescribes to the potentates of Europe the conduct they are to pursue in certain circumstances if they do not wish to incur his displeasure. Such is the prohibition which he issues against their ever thinking of any new colonization in the two Americas.

They joined in the chorus of a popular song with a vim and energy that spoke well for the condition of their lungs. Not the least entertaining of the stories told were those relative to experiences of crossing the Bosphorus to get to the child-houses. Some of these experiences would be counted rare indeed, to say the least of it, were they told to people who were not interested, but they were told to men who had "passed through the mill," and were therefore received with their due need of applause, laughter, and routine cheers. The supper was a kind of one, of course, and like the first part of the programme, was thoroughly enjoyed.



AN OLD MONARCH" FROM THE PAINTING BY ROSA BONHEUR.

The Free Press,

LONDON, ONT.

Thursday, January 23, 1895.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE STILL A LIVE ISSUE.

Because the German and Transvaal incidents arrested public attention immediately after President Cleveland's manifesto on the Venezuelan boundary question, it must not be assumed that the latter has by any means passed out of sight. On the contrary, it remains one of the burning topics of the day. British journals appear to take a far more serious view of Cleveland's fulminations than does the American press. The former affect to discern a specious yet concealed declaration of War lurking beneath the celebrated message to Congress and the American people; the latter view it principally as "hum-combe," or "electioneering tactics," or to serve as a warning for the future. The vivid idea of actual war arising out of Cleveland's menacing attitude, supported as he is by Congress and country, has not as yet penetrated the brains of the Washington diplomats. Be this as it may, the matter will not be allowed by England to rest where it is. In order to effect a final adjustment, and evade the ultimatum indicated by Cleveland, the British Government is making strenuous efforts looking to the resumption of direct diplomatic relations with Venezuela which were cut off some four years ago. If successful, Lord Salisbury's desire would be to treat with Venezuela direct, and leave the Cleveland Cabinet and its boundary commission to their own devices. It is to be hoped that this endeavor of Salisbury's may eventually lead to a pacific settlement of the vexed problem. Meanwhile, the onus of proof as to boundary pretensions seems to be cast on the English Government, and in order to establish its rights for once and all the best efforts of the diplomatic service are being put forth.

To illustrate how one grave question may grow out of another, the Monroe declaration of Cleveland has stirred up Brazil to a tussle with France on a similar boundary question. France claims a large slice of territory off the north-east corner of Brazil, bounded on the northwest by the Oyapok River, and on the south by the Araguay River. This claim has, like the Venezuelan, been for a long time in dispute, and local disturbances involving bloodshed have occurred in consequence. Now the Brazilians are taking advantage of the bold "Monroeism" put forth by the American Congress on behalf of the South American republics. A message was some weeks since addressed by the Brazilian Senate to the United States' Congress expressing its sympathy with, and support of, the new exposition of Cleveland's diplomacy. Here is a nice case in point:—If the United States' Government think they have a call to interfere in the boundary question between Venezuela and Great Britain, why should they not also insist upon intervention between Brazil and France? The British own one section of Guiana which bounds Venezuela, and the French nation another section which bounds Brazil to the north; the two cases are precisely parallel—questions of disputed international boundaries. Both the French and Brazilian Governments have agreed to arbitrators looking to a settlement, but so far neither government has been able to define the precise questions to be submitted to the arbitrators! Here, apparently, the matter rests, but not so; the French Government is in no mood to delay; events will soon be forced; French troops are already concentrating at Cayenne for the purpose of marching into and occupying by force the disputed land, whilst a naval demon-



stration on the Amazon River will doubtless bring the Brazilians to accept conclusions. All this is well known at Washington, and yet Congress makes no sign! Why? The reason is speedily found; the American nation is just a little afraid of "La Belle France." It is easy to "twist the lion's tail" in the vain assumption that the Dominion of Canada is a material guarantee for peace, but France is not so situated. So France just snaps her fingers at the American Congress on the one hand and the Brazilian Republic on the other, and waits to see what Brother Jonathan will do!

Does any reasonable student of contemporary history really believe that the United States Government will warn France off in the same manner as it has recently spoken to England! Brother Jonathan will, in this case, just do nothing. Cleveland may diplomatically express his "displeasure," and possibly go so far as to declare that the American Government "cannot view with indifference" the proceeding of France in South America, but nothing more. He is not likely to propose a boundary commission, the decision of which France would be told to swallow, or accept the alternative of War, as Great Britain has recently been advised in the Venezuelan squabble. So while this quarrelsome little republic is patted on the back and made much of, Brazil is left out in the cold by the United States Congress, a prey to French aggressions. And this is the new "Monroism!" The whole thing reeks with rank hypocrisy. The Congress cares naught about Venezuela nor Brazil; the one object of Cleveland is to have always handy some bone of contention with England ready to bring forth when advisable. It will be interesting to watch and see if the Congress at Washington will graciously condescend to grant the prayer for aid made by Brazil, or if, as we suspect, the French Republic will have her way, the Monroe doctrine to the contrary notwithstanding!

DISAGREES WITH CLEVELAND

Senator Wolcott Shows the Monroe Doctrine has Been Misapplied in the Venezuela Controversy.

Washington, Jan. 22.—In the Senate this afternoon, after referring to the message of President Cleveland on the Venezuelan question, and the appointment of the commission to enlighten the country as to the true divisional line separating Venezuela and British Guiana, Senator Wolcott said that under the circumstances it would ordinarily seem to be the part of wisdom, to refrain from further public comment on a subject of so sensitive and delicate a character until some decisive steps had been taken or some obstacle had been encountered calling for legislative interference. The resolution which the Committee of Foreign Relations had reported, the effect of which might, in his opinion be most far reaching, as affecting our policy and relations toward other friendly governments, required, he said, some discussion and careful investigation before we committed ourselves to their declarations. Continuing, he said: "The few remarks I shall make will be chiefly to the effect that the so-called Monroe Doctrine has been misapplied in the pending controversy; that so much of President Monroe's message as referred to the colonization of portions of America by European powers could have no applicability to any boundary dispute now existing in South America; that the hostility to the extension by European powers of their systems to any portion of this hemisphere, as expressed in that message, had especial reference to the systems of government which were based on the divine right of kings, and which were directed to the overthrow of all republics wherever existing; that the Monroe Doctrine was in no wise intended as insisting upon republican forms of Government in this hemisphere, or as committing this Government to maintain the doctrine outside its own borders, or except as its own integrity might be affected; that this country is embarking upon a new and different policy from the one laid down by our fathers, and that from 1821 until now Congress has uniformly declined to define the so-called Monroe Doctrine or to adopt it as a rule of action. The existing condition of affairs makes the calm discussion of the principles of the Monroe doctrine most difficult at this time. It is not an easy or a gracious task to take



21

In this high forum, a position which apparently involves in the slightest degree the abandonment of that patriotic fervor which animates the breast of every citizen where our national pride or our country's honor is in question. The Monroe Doctrine was essentially a doctrine of self-defence, promulgated for our own preservation and for no other purpose. When first enunciated our country was sparsely settled, and its boundaries but vaguely defined. To-day our own borders are defined, and we are menaced by no foreign foe. In the early years of the century, too, there seemed promise of the same advancement in civilization in South as in North America. That hope was long since dispelled. Instead of developing into self-respecting republics, the nations of South America have shown themselves so far, almost without exception, utterly unfitted for self-government. Their so-called republics are largely and usually military despotisms based on force, and relying on bloodshed and assassination for their establishment and for their brief continuance; the people are ignorant and submissive; the rulers arbitrary and cruel. The fact is that we have nothing in common with these countries. These people, Mr. President, although alien in race, language and religion, are entitled to our friendly and affectionate regard. As citizens of a sister republic we owe them protection whenever the interests of free government or the cause of civilization is attacked by assaults upon their autonomy, but beyond that point our obligation ceases. The description which I have given of the South American States generally applies, with added force, to Venezuela. Ever since her contest with Spain she has had revolutions at average intervals of 18 months. Much of the present friction between Great Britain and Venezuela arises because of the recent development of gold fields in Southern Venezuela. Where the vexed boundary line will finally be located we cannot tell, but I sincerely hope it will rightfully be found to place these rich mines where the English-speaking people who develop them will not be subject to the cupidity of the half-breeds of Venezuela, and where English common law and the certainty of its enforcement will throw over them shelter and protection. If the Senate, Mr. President, was not responsible for the original differences which have arisen between Great Britain and this country, relative to the Venezuelan boundary, it must be admitted that we have done much towards keeping the question active and the differ-

ences acute. For instance, the other day, after all the Venezuelan despatches had been published to the world, the Senator from Alabama saw fit to introduce a resolution having reference to the abortive revolution in the Transvaal. I protest—that the introduction at this time of such a resolution was at least unfortunate, and that its motive might be easily misunderstood. But whatever the cause of the uprising or the merits of the dispute my attention at that crisis was diverted to another channel. France is a sister republic, and although most of her colonies have fewer rights than Cuba, she is yet entitled to our consideration and sympathy because of her form of Government. Germany has furnished us hundreds of thousands of worthy citizens who are a credit to the republic. Russia was our friendly ally in the late war, and yet, Mr. President, when I read that all those governments—France, Germany and Russia—had allied themselves together against Great Britain, and that the people of these little islands, ‘compassed by the inviolate sea,’ in de-

fense of what they deemed their rights, were marshalling their armies and assembling their navies, ready, undaunted, to face a whole world in arms, unyielding and unafraid, I thank God I was of that race. (Great applause.) Mr. President, we will protect our country and our country's interests with our lives; but we wage no wars of conquest. This republic stands facing the dawn, secure in its liberties, conscious of its high destiny. Wherever in all the world the hand of the oppressed or the down-trodden is reached out to us, we meet it in friendly clasp. Everywhere upon the earth it is our mission to ameliorate, to civilize, to Christianize, to loosen the bonds of captivity, and point the souls of men to noble heights. Whatever of advancement and of progress for the human race the centuries shall bring us must largely come, in my opinion, through the spread of the religion of Christ and the dominance of the English-speaking people, and wherever you find both you find communities where freedom exists and law is obeyed. (Applause.) Blood is thicker than water, and until some quarrel divides us, which Heaven forbid, may these two great nations of the same speech and lineage and traditions, stand as brothers, shoulder to shoulder, in the interest of humanity, by their union compelling peace, and awaiting the coming of the day when nations shall not lift sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.”



22

THE SUNDAY TIMES-HERALD,

CHICAGO, FEBRUARY 2, 1896.

LORD SALISBURY'S SPEECH.

The speech delivered by Lord Salisbury Friday night at a political banquet in London will attract universal attention. It is probably the most curious mixture of confession, evasion, chagrin and insolence to be found in public deliveries by British prime ministers.

It consists first of the assertion, by implication, that Great Britain admits the Monroe doctrine as a rule of policy for the United States, but that the right to interpret the Monroe doctrine when it affects Great Britain lies in Great Britain; secondly, of public proclamation that, as to Armenia, England purposes doing nothing, and has failed to induce any other European power to undertake to do anything with England for the purpose of compelling Turkey to cease slaughtering the Armenians.

The reference to the Monroe doctrine displays the venom of a surly and dogged temper. Lord Salisbury's position is as illogical as his description of it is ill-mannered. Would he concede for a moment that Great Britain should assert, adhere to and declare itself ready to enforce a rule of policy, and, when that rule limped upon the pretensions or greed of another country, that the other country should be the one to determine or interpret the rule? Lord Salisbury's latest saying is extremely significant in view of the intimations, copiously given out of late from Washington, that an amicable settlement had been virtually assured in relation to the Venezuela boundary question; that the United States and Great Britain, putting contentions behind them, had already entered upon a new era of mutual admiration.

Nevertheless, the United States alone shall interpret the Monroe doctrine whenever the time will come for the application of it as a rule of policy.

As to Turkey and Armenia, Lord Salis-

bury's speech is a complete admission of the abandonment of England by European allies, and a reasonable deduction from the confessed heartlessness of the premier is that he is aware of the existence of the reported compact between Russia and Turkey. If this compact does not exist Lord Salisbury may hereafter be quoted by Russia as approving Russian occupation of Armenia for the purpose of restoring order. Lord Salisbury said to his audience: "You are deceiving yourselves if you imagine England's arm, long as it is, could have done anything in mitigation. Nothing but a military usurpation could have done it, and England does not possess the power of military usurpation at that distance." Rebuking Gladstone, Lord Salisbury says: "If the sultan would meet us in the open undoubtedly we could cope with five or six sultans. It is not worth arguing the possibility of England occupying those inaccessible provinces." In her own time Russia will show they are not inaccessible.

It is not strange that even the most slavish of Lord Salisbury's organs, the London Times, should say that, as to Armenia, he was "apologetic," and that his "explanations were rather unusual." The effect of the speech is rightly measured by another English journal: "It will do England grievous harm in the eyes of the world." The Daily News passionately sums up the more humane and liberal English opinion when it says: "The little monster who gleats at Constantinople over the butcheries will receive Lord Salisbury's statement as glad tidings."

Lord Salisbury, it has been guilefully intimated of late several times, had shown suspicious evidence of declining mental power. His latest speech justifies apprehension that, as was true of Lord Rosebery, his responsibilities are proving greater than his vitality.

MR. SKAGGON

, FRIDAY, JANUARY 24, 1896.

FROM VENEZUELA.

Anti-British Sentiment Unabated—An Effigy of Salisbury and the Mob.

New York, Jan. 23.—A special from Caracas, Venezuela, says:—England's proposed method of arbitration, which has been published in the American press, is viewed here with suspicion, especially Chili's offer of mediation. Venezuela would never consent to this. Chili has been Venezuela's enemy. Chili is also opposed to the United States and friendly to England. If it is true that England has offered to purchase the disputed territory it would not and could not be accepted by Venezuela, as the legislation forbids the disposal of any national territory. It is denied that the Pope has offered his services as arbitrator. Anti-English sentiment continues popular. An effigy of Salisbury was prepared and carried through the streets, the multitude jeering it. The procession stopped at



BRITISH GUIANA'S NEW GOVERNOR.
Sir Augustus Lawson Hemming, Appointed to Succeed Sir Chas. Cameron Esq.

the plaza, where a mock trial was held. The effigy was sentenced to death and shot. Excited people pulled the clothing from the figure and tore it into pieces, which were distributed among the crowd. A church in the town of Camaguana was robbed and the sacred images despoiled. Two Englishmen were arrested on suspicion. The releasing of

political prisoners continues. Leon Ponte, editor of El Progreso, who was imprisoned a month ago for re-publishing an interview in the London Times relating to the attitude of President Crespo in the Urnan incident, was liberated to-day. The revolutionary movement is dying out. The Government is confident. A Paris cable says that England desires a pacific solution of the dispute, and will attempt to renew diplomatic relations with Venezuela to effect a direct settlement without the intervention of the United States. Venezuela will never consent.

Caracas, Jan. 23.—Michael McIntosh, the head magistrate in British Guiana, who has been identified for years with the alleged usurpation of Venezuelan territory, has been relieved of his magisterial duties in order that he may command an expedition charged with fortifying the entire length of the Cuyuni River, lying in the disputed territory. This news has caused a great stir here. El Liberal, in a leading editorial, calls the attention of the Government to the military preparations on the Guiana frontier, which, although London denies it, are actively going forward. On the British Island of Trinidad the forts are being repaired and the militia is being drilled in the method of handling the new heavy guns. In the name of the people of Venezuela this Government is asked to fortify Amacuro, Cangrejos and Cuyuni, on the frontier, in order to be ready for war if arbitration fails. The moral effect of increasing the military strength will be to unite the country, it is argued, and command the respect of President Crespo's bitterest enemies. The English plan is believed to be to fortify the disputed territory while the American commission is investigating and if its report is adverse to Great Britain to be prepared to hold it forcibly. Ex-President Guzman Blanco denies that there is a conspiracy against Venezuela. He pronounces the story of the work of spies at a time when all Venezuelans owe their support to Crespo against a common enemy. The news of the proposed adoption and definition of the Monroe doctrine by the U. S. Congress has aroused great enthusiasm here. A Paris cable despatch reports that England is anxious to renew diplomatic relations with Venezuela, and for a peaceful settlement of her difference with Brazil.

222



A CRACKER FOR THE NEW YEAR—WHY NOT?—Westminster Budget.



REAR ADMIRAL ALFRED T. DALE, COMMANDER OF FLYING SQUADRON.



Arthur H. H. H.







PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

BRIEF

EB

00 55295

UTL AT DOWNSVIEW



D RANGE BAY SHLF POS ITEM C
39 09 04 18 04 016 4